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ABSTRACT

The 14 symposium papers presented in this document provide a diverse historical and personal interpretation of Alaska's educational development. Titles and authors are: "Conflicting Priorities, Conflicting Opinions: Alaskan Development and Sheldon Jackson, Educator" (Ted Hinckley); "Sheldon Jackson and the Constitutionality of the Contract School System: A Chapter in the History of Federal Indian Policy" (Stephen Haycox); "Dr. Sheldon Jackson: Pioneer Alaskan Educator for All Seasons" (Evelyn Bonner); "Education in Russian America" (Michael Oleksa and Richard Dauenhauer); "The Educational Art of a Noted Eskimo Teacher: William A. Oquilluk" (Gene Adams and Rose Atuk Fosdick); "Ellen Kittredge Lopp, An Alaskan Missionary" (Jeanne Engerman); "Education at Christ Church Mission, Anvik: An Outpost on the Yukon" (Donna MacAlpine); "'Send Us a Man'--The Independence Mine Territorial School" (Stephanie Stirling); "Alaska Educational Systems in Action at Eagle, Alaska, 1901-1981" (Elva Scott); "Teaching Conditions at Circle City: 1896-1966" (Patricia Oakes); "Brief History of Cordova Schools and Teaching Experiences in Alaska's Past" (Phyllis Carlson); "The Process of Education: A Personal Experience" (William Demmert, Jr.); "A New Method of Education: An Alaska Experience in Educational/Public Broadcasting" (Charles Northrip); and "Education in Alaska: A Thirty-One Year Perspective" (Charles Ray). (NEC)

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IN
ALASKA'S PAST

ALASKA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Juneau Grade School, Winter and Pond Photo

1940 School - Hatcher Pass
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Rear Row: George Johnson, Norman Frodenberg, Mr. Brown.
Front Row: Rusty Frodenberg, Roger Olson, Billy Johnson, Vernon Porfor (Forenpohar?), Dicky Dunn.

Native Public School, Winter and Pond Photo

EDUCATION IN ALASKA'S PAST

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

The most common way any group of people ensures its existence and the continuation of its values is through the education of its children. The people of Alaska -- whether Native-Alaska, Russian-Alaska or American-Alaska -- are certainly no exception.

Recognizing the important place different educational developments have had in the history of the state, a symposium entitled "Education in Alaska's Past" was offered as part of the program of the annual meeting of the Alaska Historical Society held in Valdez on October 8 and 9, 1982. The papers presented during that symposium, and published here, cover a wide range of topics within the general subject of Alaska's education history. From Ted Hinckley's introductory paper on the accomplishments of Sheldon Jackson to Charles Ray's banquet address reviewing the progress of Alaska's educational programs through the last three decades, these papers provide diverse historical -- and personal-- interpretations of Alaska's educational development.

The Alaska Historical Society owes grateful appreciation to those individuals and agencies who helped organize and sponsor the 1982 meeting in Valdez, especially the Office of History and Archaeology of the Alaska Division of Parks, the Valdez Heritage Board, the Valdez Historical Society, and the Center for Alaska Studies of the Prince William Sound Community College. A grant from the Alaska Historical Commission has allowed the Alaska Historical Society to publish these conference proceedings.

CONFLICTING PRIORITIES, CONFLICTING OPINIONS: ALASKAN DEVELOPMENT AND SHELDON JACKSON, EDUCATOR

Ted C. Hinckley

Mention the name Sheldon Jackson in Alaska and watch your listeners line up. On one side are those who consider him half-charlatan, half-scoundrel, a missionary hypocrite who helped destroy the Native cultures and skinned Uncle Sam by misusing federal money to save Natives from a Protestant hell. Here was a perambulating Presbyterian politico who, after bringing down the district's first two governors and nullifying the leadership of the next two, finally succeeded in placing his lackey, Rev. John G. Brady, in the governorship.

On the other hand are Dr. Jackson's admirers. They recall his remarkable campaigns to raise money for Native advancement and protection, the use of his own hard-earned savings to erect Alaska's first concrete building, thus preserving the fast-vanishing Native artifacts -- Great Land treasures flowing to eastern museums and entirely off the American continent to Europe. Lacking Jackson's extraordinary mobilization of both private and public power blocs, Alaska's 1884 Organic Act might have been delayed until century's end. And on the reindeer question -- well, enough said! That question, like the worth of the sawed-off cleric, will probably produce heated debate for many decades to come.[1]

On certain matters there is little if any argument. The five-foot-tall home mission organizer-turned-Alaska educator and lobbyist, like other runts who dot the pages of history, suffered a massive psychological need to compensate. Where stubby Napoleon conquered land for the French Empire, Jackson would conquer public ignorance; where Carnegie counted tons of steel cast, Jackson counted thousands of Alaskans enrolled in church and common schools. I have not the slightest doubt that had he been harpooned, quite literally ripped open as was missionary Harrison R. Thornton at Cape Prince of Wales, Jackson, like the Roman Catholic martyr Isaac Jogues, would have died contented, the gruesomeness of his death notwithstanding. A driven Christian, he lusted to do good. This "Macedonian call" -- doing the "Lord's work afar" -- coupled with his enormous ego and beaver-like political perseverance, certainly earned him fame or notoriety -- maybe both. Unlike such isolated frontier martyrs as Jesuit Jogues and the Presbyterians Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, Jackson could utilize industrial age technology that was shrinking the earth. Telegraph lines and rail lines had indeed made the world every man's stage. And Jackson loved it.[2]

If you question that this westerner did not think he had a personal manifest destiny, inspect his collection at the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia. Shelf upon shelf, file drawer upon file drawer, scrapbook upon scrapbook should convince you how desperately he wanted to convince posterity, and himself, of his good works. However, if this is insufficient evidence, cast your eyes upward and behold there the large sculptured bust which his idolatrous admirers presented him -- shades of graven images. And if you are still not persuaded that his ego could have filled this hall, consider that during his lifetime he dreamed of not one but two colleges named after Sheldon Jackson. Surely only Lyndon Baines Johnson can match such egotism!

Having caricatured the man, let me now tell you -- straight out -- I think he deserves consideration as Alaska's representative in Statuary Hall. For while he usually worked a fourteen-hour day for himself, his God, and his country, he also labored for this adopted Great Land. Not only was Jackson denied the good fortune of martyrdom, but he suffered the misfortune of living too long. Guy Klett, an elderly librarian and honored historian, once told me of how, as a student at Princeton, he had heard the white-bearded Dr. Jackson lecture. Near death and a bore, for Jackson had become a doddering old monomaniac on the subject of

Alaska, Jackson also suffered from a terminal problem. Dr. Klett remembered it was with a touch of sadness that the chairman had to whisper in the old gentleman's ear, "You must stop, Dr. Jackson. There is another group waiting to hear you in the adjoining room." Of course he stopped talking. And of course there was no other group waiting.[3]

Sheldon Jackson's seventeenth-century forebearers believed in the priesthood of all believers. A corollary to this was the conviction that to be an authentic believer obligated careful study of the Bible, which in turn required educated citizens. Jackson accepted this paramount Protestant priority. However, like just about every minister of his generation -- never forget ministers then enjoyed almost as much public esteem as is today granted doctors and lawyers (possibly I should also add professors, but many professors then were ministers) -- Jackson, like so many Guilded Age Christians, had supplanted the Puritan's fear of man's pride with a swelling confidence in man's potentiality. Be his skin black, his antecedents Islamic, or his society as ancient as China's, he could be saved for "pure Christianity" by education. By hindsight, we don't know whether to laugh or cry at such simplistic optimism. Education by Christian men and women was going to save the world. What was it the campus youth exuberantly stated in the 1890's? "We can evangelize the world in this generation!"[4] Twelve years ago on my campus, any student who had seriously uttered such a declaration would not have been greeted with either laughter or tears, but a groan, "Another victim of LSD."

History is what occurred, not what we wish it had been or judgmentally believe it should have been. For those anthropologists who today fuss about Dr. Jackson's generation breaking the Constitution in the use of public money for religious education, Native American education, all over the Far West and the Far North, for those sociologists who condemn the patronizing, the arrogant ethnocentrism of that silly bunch of churchmen and women, I can only say, "Yes, you are entitled to your opinion, but if you are to be accurate in your historical opinion, you must at least attempt to see Alaska and the United States as they existed in the late nineteenth century, not in our own, enlightened, late twentieth century. Today we don't have troublesome moralizers befuddling our pupils' minds, just hard-working public speakers like the gruesome twosome currently on the college lecture circuit: witch doctor Timothy Leary and gunslinger E. Gordon Liddy! To be sure, our technically advanced age does spend millions of public dollars on student loans, but hand in hand are expenditures for campus research in nuclear and space weaponry. You get the point. Let us continue to throw historical stones at whatever age we are evaluating. Nonetheless, it does behoove us to exhibit a greater degree of modesty and humility than did our ethnocentric counterparts a century ago.

In any age, educators must first of all determine what are in fact their major goals. Once these are established, they perforce must gain public support, tangible (money!) and intangible, to carry out their declared objectives. Although General Agent for Education Sheldon Jackson's goals may only proximate our own, he well understood some basics we too often forget. Whenever Mr. and Mrs. Taxpayer think we have mounted a lame horse or are charging at an antiquated windmill, peculiarly enough they see us as so many Don Quixotes. Although Jackson probably never envisioned himself as a knight errant defending the Great Land and its Native peoples, the analogy is appropriate. But believe me, he was no Dox Quixote! If you imagine for a moment that those Congressional solons didn't tire of his lance's ceaseless jabbing, untiring persuasion from Alaska's Sir Galahad, think again. The following quotation is taken from the March 3, 1898 Congressional Record. Voicing his exaspiration at over a quarter century of Jackson's vexatious lobbying is Missouri's Senator George H. Vest:

> If cattle can be raised in Alaska, why did the Rev. Sheldon Jackson, missionary to the Aleuts, preserver of curios and totem poles, general agent of education in Alaska and superintendent of reindeer, come to us in 1891 and tell us that the natives of Alaska were starving and that we must purchase reindeer in the interest of humanity to

> fill up their emaciated frames? In 1891 Rev. Dr. Sheldon Jackson whom all the older Senators here know, for like the poor he is with us always -- if he does not come to Washington about the time the appropriations bill is considered, the Committee on Appropriations are lonesome and wander through the corridors like some war widow; it seems to me that I have heard them recently, because he has been absent from the country purchasing reindeer from Lapland --

At this point Illinois Senator Shelby M. Cullom interrupted to remind Senator Vest that Jackson had not yet returned home. Vest snorted,

> Yes, he has arrived; and there has been great joy in the War Department, I am told by the papers, because he has brought what were left of 500 reindeer with him. I was about to say that it seemed to me that I had heard the Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations and the other members of the committee plaintively whispering through the aisles, "Shall we never more behold thee Sheldon Jackson; never hear thy sweet voice again?" But we will hear it Mr. President. In the twenty years I have been in the Senate that distinguished divine has never been absent when an appropriation was to be made. He has been the most patriotic and self-sacrificing citizen of this great Republic, because he has acted as a conduit to drain off the surplus money in the Treasury and prevent all the evils that would come by profligate extravagance from an enormous supply of useless coin. . . .
>
> Now let me ask . . . who claim that this District of Alaska is a great grazing country, why are those reindeer to be carried there to feed those people if domestic cattle can be raised upon those grasses, of which we hear so much from the agents of the Government. . . .
>
> Mr. President talk about agriculture in a country where you see the gardens upon the roofs of the cabins! Talk about a grazing country when in 1889, upon my visit there, there was but one domestic animal in the whole District, and that was a cow, brought up three weeks before that by the governor to furnish milk for one of his children! I was told at Juneau -- and there are credible witnesses who testify to it today -- that a United States officer had brought a Government mule out of a pack train at Juneau, an old Government mule with "U.S." branded upon it, and had gone off and left it, when the mule became so lonesome that he deliberately walked down into the ocean, waited for the tide, and committed suicide.[5]

At the end of that line the Congressional Record notes "Laughter."

Who can doubt that there was laughter a plenty? And I suspect that good Calvinist, Dr. Jackson, may even have chuckled. Long since, he had learned that lesson which every celebrity so well appreciates: "Better bad publicity than no publicity."

Sheldon Jackson first came to Alaska in 1877. His voluminous writings reveal that his brief sortee affected his mind, possibly like the elixir that Ponce de Leon so vainly sought. Jackson had already completed an astonishing career laboring as the famed Rocky Mountain Superintendent administering an eleven-state synod, establishing churches wholesale by mule back, by stage coach, and by shoe leather. His brother-in-law, Rev. George Norcross, also a Presbyterian minister, but definitely not of jesuit mien like his Brother in Christ Jackson, suggested retirement, a nice quiet pastorate. Retirement was not a word in Jackson's vocabulary. Indeed, a nice, quiet pastorate would probably have killed him. If the stubby Stephen A. Douglas was "a steam engine in pants," Jackson surely got fireweed inside his clerical collar when he first came ashore at Wrangell.[6]

Before he returned east, hot under the collar to raise money for Alaskan Native education, he installed the veteran missionary Amanda McFarland at Wrangell to save Native girls, not only for Jesus but from the inevitable social disintegration that had sickened him from Arizona to Montana. Jackson was an enlightened Victorian; that is, he wanted a woman to be respected, but not isolated on a pedestal. Although I cannot yet confirm it -- his correspondence with his wife remains hidden away -- I suspect that she and their two daughters may have had much to do with his acceptance of the new woman. Whatever, it was the women, much more than the men of his church, who put their muscle and money behind his educational wheels. Before long, congressmen felt their pressure and both mission and common schools appeared.[7]

While Jackson found a receptive audience in his appeals to act now in Alaska and avoid the sordid harvest Americans were reaping at the Little Big Horn and Sand Creek, he quickly recognized that his adopted land was anything but "great" in the public eye.

Indulge me one other quote from Senator Vest's classic comic polemic. It precisely targets the central issue to which the remainder of this paper is addressed.

> During the three weeks I was in [Alaska], in this magnificent land of magnificent distances, I saw the sun but twice, and that for an hour upon each occasion; and like the fire worshippers, I felt like kneeling in adoration before his beams.
>
> If ever there was a purchase made recklessly, heedlessly by any government on top of the earth, it was our purchase of Alaska.

Those of you in this audience with your $1,000 residential bonuses and no state income tax can only vaguely comprehend how long-lingering, how durable Alaska's negative image. Remember, Senator Vest was speaking in 1898, three whole decades after Russian America's acquisition, when profits from fishing, mining, and tourism had become common fare for the reading public. No, Missouri's senator is a superb example of that cussed "show me" mentality which appears to inhibit mankind everywhere. Doubtless like our latent xenophobia, it has deep primitive roots, a protective mechanism that goes back hundreds of thousands of years. And similar to the curse of tribophilia, we pay quite a price for provincophilia. Or when was the last time your Aunt Alice and Uncle Charlie took their third visit to Hawaii and again excused themselves from their first visit to Alaska?

As my Americanization of Alaska repeatedly notes, there were Americans in the 1860's, and increasingly thereafter, who did discern the breath-taking prospects of the Far North frontier, but similar to a 1982 lecturer urging strengthened international law, those early on, pro-Alaska opinions were rarely weighed, and, if so, badly underweighed. Parenthetically, I am satisfied it was not until after World War II and the Cold War when the oldest of motivators -- self-preservation, fear -- that Alaska finally attained importance in the mass mind. The contrast between the public's embittered, 1970's gasoline lines and that sweet-tasting pipeline with which you Valdezians are all very familiar, effectively erased Senator Vest's "reckless, heedless purchase" stigma.

Jackson was one of an enlightened band of Americans who refused to jump on the bandwagon blaring out anti-Alaska ridicule. Certainly, healthy analysis of the Forty-ninth State's unique economic limitations and prospects was need then as it is today. Regrettably, however, negative reports, not unlike some of the other subliminal forces that I have just alluded to, seem to possess strange, unfathomable power. If you question this, talk with a professional in the art of public persuasion. Currently, California is engaged in pre-election forensics, and never in my entire life have I ever witnessed so much subtle negative campaigning. It isn't heavy, clotted mud slinging, just titillating disparagement. For example, Proposition Eleven -- if passed -- would enact a litter control law similar to Oregon's and New York's. It is being met by a media commercial which satirizes the proposition without mentioning the law or anything whatsoever related to it. Unless I am very much mistaken, the public relations industry is now enormous, its practitioners are very well paid, and they have scientific evidence, libraries of it, that dictate the do's and don'ts of altering your vote, your purchase, your opinion, and mine.

Are aspersions more potent than praise? I don't know. Undoubtedly, brochures featuring pretty Eskimo girls, delicious dining at the Cook or Sheffield hotels, or scenes of Nome's fabulous yesterdays do increase Alaska's romantic attractiveness. Possibly the best formula for measuring the impact of positive or negative imagery can only be ambiguous -- shadow and substance depending on the viewer and the curcumstances that determine his or her opinion at a particular moment. Remember the unbathed, wretched hippies in the movie "Five Easy Pieces" who, when asked why they were driving to Alaska, replied, "It's all white and clean."

Alaskan ambiguities never troubled Sheldon Jackson. District detractors were transparent, never opaque, and ten years previous to his infatuation with Alaska, they had already begun to slur and slander his beloved land.

The New York Daily Tribune commented: "We have heard of people going to Russian America but never heard of anybody staying there except those who were frozen in the snow." Six months before the Stars and Stripes were raised at Sitka, Harper's Weekly sarcasm proved more prescient than it knew:

> I suppose an enterprising person would have no difficulty "striking oil" here [in Alaska], certainly he would not if skilled in the use of a harpoon. Oil sells here at about two cents a barrel, and blubber is still cheaper. If some of our Eastern men would come out and bring with them a few derricks and erect them over the whales, they would soon build up a Sperm City rivaling any of the Oil Cities of Pennsylvania.[8]

Nor were inspectors of the recent annexation much help. Emil Teichmann reported that "at all times the climate is injurious to health, and rheumatism, fever and diseases of the lungs are only too prevalent amongst the white population as well as the Indian." General George Thomas concluded, "There is no probability of any emigration in that direction, as there is not the slightest inducement for any." The scientific investigation led by George Davidson was suspect, for it concerned "itself mainly with the acquisition of favorable evidence that could be used to convince the American public in general, and congressmen in particular, that Alaska was worth the purchase price."[9]

Nor should we underestimate post-Civil War America's outright pleasure in laughing at itself. Some of this humor must have been a catharsis from the bloody war -- both in percentage and absolute numbers, the Civil War was America's most murderous. Phineas T. Barnum marvelously personified the nation's self-burlesque, its playful capacity to wallow in hyperbole. Barnum's "There's a sucker born every minute" was confirmed every second. Who has not heard of the two con-men who in 1872 laced a western slope with glittering diamonds and nearly succeeded with their astonishing "great diamond hoax"? Here was chutzpah with a vengeance, and Americans loved it.[10]

No, the vast West was a land of humerous exaggeration, and Walrussia must suffer its share of good-natured spoofery. One reporter informed his West Coast readers:

> Sitka is the region of incessant storms, dripping forests, dank mosses, dense mud and drifting mists. . . .

> Returning last night, after four hours endurance of the pitiless storm one honest Celt . . . vented his indignation by saying, "By Jesus who bought this country? It wern't me."[11]

you can just imagine what the press did with the initially serious proposals to commence a colony of Icelanders in Alaska, and when that failed, to assure Far North settlement by creating there a huge penal colony. It is revealing that this notion to create an "American Siberia," as Edmund Noble dammed the "heart revolting project," remained alive for another thirty years.[12]

In 1876 the United States celebrated its first hundred years of independence. As for Alaska, San Francisco's *Alta California* recommended telling what few people remained in Alaska to depart so "we might close out the concern." On the Atlantic coast the *New York Times* used the identical words, "close out the concern." What to do with the Natives? One *Times* solution was to coax them back to Siberia where they had originated. Although the paper did confess the indigenes had never been consulted about their annexation to the United States, it assigned them sick comic roles.

> The natives who, for the most part are a whiskey-drinking candle eating and stolid race could not make up their minds to go [back to Russia] or stay. They were not sure whether they would like the right of suffrage, a republican form of government . . . and the seeds of the Agricultural Department. So they stayed.[13]

Copy such as this got no laughs from humanitarians such as Jackson. Nor, for that matter, did such journalistic jests prove particularly entertaining to those who knew the environmental costs of the frontier on-rush. "Winning of the West," some might call it, but not General Phil Sheridan. He was so appalled at what his countrymen were doing despoiling the West, including their own national parks, that Sheridan ordered in the cavalry to protect Yellowstone from tourist Yahoos.[14]

In fact, seventeen years earlier the U.S. Army had been assigned a similar charge at the remote Pribilof Islands. So alarmed was the author-artist-environmentalist Henry Wood Elliott over the declining population of the Pribilof seal that he gained the sobriquet, "Fur Seal Elliott." In his eyes a pell mell Alaskan settlement was anathema. One almost thinks he is listening to a Sierra Club spokesman as Elliott summarized the first ten years of American occupation.

> Alaska is paradise for the naturalist, a happy hunting ground for the ethnologist, a new and boundless field for the geologist, and the physical phenomena of its climate are something wonderful to contemplate. It is, and will be for years to come, a perfect treasure trove for these gentlemen, but alas! It bids fair, for what we now know, never to be a treasure trove for the miner or agriculturist.[15]

That same year, 1877, Sheldon Jackson introduced himself to Dame Alaska. By that date, although there had been a mini town boom at Sitka, and a short-lived gold rush to the Stikine region, Alaska boosterism had soured. Sitka's civil government had collapsed, and even the U.S. troops had been withdrawn. Actually, it was the darkness before the dawn, for by 1877 people important to Alaska's future were awakening to the fact that there were many Alaskas. To generalize about its inhabitants, climate, and physical features was about as foolish as wrapping up the geography of the contiguous United States in a paragraph. Within five years Juneau mushroomed, salmon canneries multiplied, and large-scale tourism began.

William Gouverneur Morris, U.S. Customs Collector at Sitka and a Jackson ally, certainly deserves to be honored as a hinge figure in the critical years from 1877 to 1884. If there are any words of jest in his vital 1879 Report Upon the Customs District . . . of Alaska Territory, it is gallows humor. "Alaska," Morris groaned,

> now stands, utterly desolate and all forlorn, unprotected in the extreme sense of the word, weeping at the doors of Congress, and begging that her citizens may be permitted to enjoy the blessing of freedom, and be protected in their lives, liberty, and pursuit of happiness.[16]

The fact that there were less than a thousand Yankee settlers in the entire gigantic District only confirmed for him that, lacking a civil government, Alaska never could emulate the success of her sister commonwealths to the south.

Two years after Morris' sobering Report, Jackson's book, Alaska and Missions on the North Pacific Coast, appeared. To no one's surprise, where the Customs Collector had emphasized the need for government, Jackson pressed hard for Native protection, Native education, and self-government. In his Preface, Jackson thanked not only Morris but the in-and-out-of-public-service employees William H. Dall, Marcus Baker, John Wesley Powell, and Ivan Petroff, among others. Jackson's Alaska is ethnocentric and contains factual errors; there is little doubt that it was a hastily assembled, scissors-and-paste-pot volume. Nevertheless, his call-to-action book deserves to be taken seriously. For although Jackson continued to write officially and unofficially until after the turn of the century, much of what he wrote in his Alaska continued to have application. Furthermore, much of what he recommended in Alaska eventually saw the light of legislation. Finally, especially important since your speaker is attempting to analyze Jackson's role as an aroused humanitarian, the volume reveals his skill in combining Native education with a wide range of District needs.[17]

Thus far I have suggested five different Gilded Age perspectives of what to do with the 1867 annexation. These five positions generated differing, although not necessarily exclusive, priorities. Permit me to review these five perspectives. First and second, the radically antithetical opinions of those who either condemned Alaska out of hand as a joke, or those who discerned its enormous although yet unknown resource potentialities. Third, the conservationist, go-slow-with-development admonishments so well enunciated by Fur Seal Elliott. Fourth was Dr. Jackson's paramount concern: protection and advancement of the territory's Native peoples. And finally the fifth, the Alaskan resident/official as typified by William G. Morris, "weeping at the doors of Congress" for law and order.

Ivan Petroff's reputation was later blemished by his blunderous, if well-intentioned, falsifications; nevertheless, as a veteran Alaskan field worker, Petroff heartily agreed that the District was an anomaly. In 1880 he wrote:

> Alaska is today, and has been for thirteen years, "a thing which it is not," a Territory in name only, without its organization. It is a customs district, for the collection of customs only, with a collector and three deputies separated by hundreds and even thousands of miles. It has no laws but a few Treasury regulations. It has no county or subdivisions and of course no capital. The collector of customs and the only representative of police restrictions -- a man-of-war -- are located at Sitka, cut off from all communication with the bulk of the Territory except by way of San Francisco.[18]

Secretary of the Treasury Charles J. Folger put it even more bluntly:

> Simple conflicting claims to personal property, not to mention affairs of greater magnitude, must be settled on the spot by force of arms. . . . The pioneers and missionaries . . . have established commerce and dropped the seeds of civilization . . . at risks so great as to deter all but the hardy from the undertaking.[19]

Note that Folger linked "commerce" with "seeds of civilization." A sixth opinion of District utilization may thus be categorized: The advancement of Alaska's commercial prospects.

More often than not, in nineteenth-century American history, the men standing at this vantage point exerted the strongest formative territorial leverage. Money does talk. Jackson, like all of you in this room, understood that lacking dollars there could be no schools, churches, hospitals, libraries, or the infrastructure of civilization. Unlike most of us, he was intimately acquainted with commerce's earliest stages of growth, the historic, anarchistic, roaring boom town, be it for cattlemen, miners, or the "hell on wheels" at rails end. How the churchman-educator must have flinched whenever he recalled that such Sodoms and Gomorrahs frequently preceded "Christian communities," that they must ineluctably pimple the face of lovely Alaska. Scaberous and parasitical, these spores had proven socially destructive for Native American men and women. As across the Far West, churches and schools appeared to be a sure way to shorten the duration of such lawless fleshpots in Alaska. For Jackson, as with so many "friends of the Indians," it was an either/or situation. Either the Natives acculturate through

Christian uplift via schools, churches, and model Victorian domesticity, or inescapable social disintegration awaited them. American history seemed to demonstrate that there was about as much hope for a distinct red man's culture being preserved as some cans of red paint permanently altering the whiteness of the Valdez glaciers. An ethnocentric assumption, for all its humanitarian mainsprings.[20]

If Alaska's unique marine isolation and climate retarded the onrush of such exploitive mining camps, who can doubt the relief of men like Elliott, Dall, Petroff, Morris, and just about everyone in the public service. Yet none of these men preoccupied himself as directly or emotionally with Alaska's Natives as did Jackson and his missionary-common school teacher recruits.

Men of commerce included not just shippers but storekeepers, resident mine and cannery personnel, printers and newspapermen, and all of the various craftsmen from carpenters to bartenders, requisite citizens if Alaska was to emulate Ohio, Iowa, and California. These Alaskans, like their southside brethren, held a quite different view of the "red man." No, they didn't see a potential Sitting Bull or Geronimo in their Tlingit neighbors. Mercifully, post-purchase Alaska avoided the Far West Indian wars. Lest you forget the white man's apprehension and lethal volatility, however, recall what occurred at Sand Creek in eastern Colorado and Camp Grant in southern Arizona. In those instances, as in too many other massacres, peaceful yet unassimilated "wild Indians," or "blanket Indians," were slaughtered by whites in retribution for the violent acts of other genuinely hostile Natives.[21]

By the 1880's, a large number of Panhandle Natives not only wore white man's clothes but increasingly lived in their own white man's house. Some continued to attend Christian services as they had decades before the post-sixty-seven Yankee influx. Nevertheless, the typical settler at Wrangell, Sitka, and Juneau viewed them as what Kipling called "lesser breeds," essentially economic objects. Throughout southeastern Alaska, the widespread visibility of hundreds of Native packers, Native deck hands and pilots, mill hands and, before long, mill owners, policemen, store clerks, salmon workers, even typesetters and teachers, accelerated a white man's acculturation.[22]

By the 1870's-1880's, almost everyone who knew anything about Alaska expected the Great Land would eventually flourish. In fact, profitable pieces of the puzzle were already in place. Alaska's Native peoples were proving indispensable components for this economic transformation. Experience had taught Jackson that while the men of commerce would take care of their own pocketbooks and the education of their children, they had little difficulty in ignoring Native American needs -- the ugly, centuries-old stain on the national bunting notwithstanding. Jackson also appreciated the sojourner nature of frontier settlement. In remote Alaska, might not the "get-rich, get-out" philosophy be doubly threatening to the indigenes? He exaggerated this threat, and modern communications luckily limited its worst excesses. Albeit, the sojourners' looter mentality was common enough. Snorted one-time District Judge Lafayette Dawson, now safely back in the States, "Alaska is fit only for Indians and dogs to live in."[23]

Understandably, talk like this disgusted Alaskans. "We have grumblers, growlers and kickers enough in Alaska," editor C. H. Schaap protested, "but Lord deliver us from the eastern importations . . . men who never describe things as they are but . . . [fill] the country up with some heartrending tales . . . in one long maze of sinuous entanglement, and untruthful and diabolical misrepresentation." Two parenthetical questions: If Schaap didn't come from the East, where did he come from? And how long was it before he became another "Alaskan exportation?" Some of Schaap's railery was the traditional resentment voiced by western editors condemning eastern officialdom. Schaap liked to recast Bishop Berkeley's "Westward the course of Empire makes its way," into "Westward the jug of Empire takes its way." Yet for all the editor's good humor, he too "grumbled and growled" at how shoddy the treatment accorded Alaska. "Everybody must admit that Alaska forms the tail of Uncle Sam's Far West," Schaap snapped.[24]

Another feisty Alaska newspaperman, and the preeminent nineteenth-century spokesman for Alaska's men of commerce, was the District's second governor, Alfred P. Swineford, an 1885 Cleveland appointee. A veteran Michigan miner, Swineford superbly embodied the frontier promoter, half-businessman, half-politician. By the time his four-year governorship had ended, Swineford had repeatedly demonstrated the Westerner's cavalier disregard for pesky "Injuns." You can imagine how his popularity rose among the miner transients when he publicly heaped physical punishment on a Tlingit leader. His obliviousness to civil law angered not only Judge Brady but sickened the missionary-teacher element.[25]

Surely another reason for Swineford's disgust of "the hypocritical Dr. Jackson" was the manner in which the runt with the clerical collar outmaneuvered him politically. A mutual loathing is not too strong a description of their antipathy for one another.

Near century's end, Swineford had become a Ketchikan newspaperman and mining promoter. By then he not only had to endure his bete noir General Agent Jackson, annually throwing his political weight from Sitka to Washington, D.C., but suffer similar discomfort from an "Indian loving governor." "Niggalova" was the stigma borne by courageous white Southerners during these years when lynching peaked in American history. John W. Troy, editor of Skagway's *Daily Alaskan*, fully agreed with fellow newsman Swineford. Troy characterized Jackson's protege, Governor Brady: "As a shouter in an Indian meeting the gentleman is a success but as a chief executive of this great district he is not the right man." You can imagine with what enthusiasm Swineford and Troy reacted to the Jackson-Brady advocacy of full voting rights for the Native! For them the defeat of the "pernicious Brady influence at Washington," and the demise of the "little knocker whose missionary cabal . . . keeps Alaskans gagged" could not come quickly enough.[26]

In fact, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the Presbyterian "hierarchy," as historian Jeannette Paddock Nichols later described Jackson and his allies, had won grudging approval by many a man of commerce. Most of you are familier with the colorful coastal steamer captain, James C. Carroll. Captain Carroll, you may recall, at one time offered to buy Alaska if the United States didn't have any use for it. His relationship with Dr. Jackson had been badly launched. Apparently, Jackson was escorting north some lady missionaries when the salty skipper unloaded a few salty expletives. Jackson took it upon himself to reprove the vessel's captain with a result that must have been uproarious. Thereafter, earplugs may have been included in the travel kits of his school marms. Whatever, the captain and the clergyman can hardly have been on the best of terms.

Yet, let me quote you a letter found in the Brady Collection at Yale University. The date is August 12, 1904, and it is addressed to Jackson from Captain Carroll.

> Governor Brady has done more for Alaska and its people than any other governor ever appointed there. He works hard for the interests of the people and the territory. A great many have found fault because he takes such interest in the natives; but if most of the people who do the talking in this direction would make as good citizens as the natives are, Alaska would have some very good citizens.[27]

Where the Troy-Swineford frontier boomers followed a different road leading toward the Americanization of Alaska, they certainly paralleled the pro-Jackson element when it came to specifying the District's fundamental problem: Alaska's neglect by the mother country. In 1878, and still largely ignorant of Alaskan affairs, Jackson (and Brady) commenced what became a chant, a rhetorical imperative. One recalls Bishop Bartolome de Las Casas' leyenda negra, a polemical outpouring accepted as truth by both contemporaries and historians that followed. "The manner in which the government has neglected this country," Jackson's Rocky Mountain Presbyterian insisted, "is nothing short of criminal negligence."[28]

That Alaska had been neglected, none could deny. Black men in the South could also groan, "We bin neglected since freedom."

and what about the neglect of those hundreds of thousands of immigrants pouring into New York, Pittsburgh, and Chicago slums? Certainly, when you visit Los Angeles' attractively restored Plaza District today, your guide won't mention where in 1871 the twenty or so smashed Chinese bodies littered the landscape. Jackson knew, and I repeat, what you educators should never forget, the squeaky wheel not only gets the grease, but there are one helluva lot of squeaky wheels. If you wish to get the public's attention, that proverbial deaf, cantankerous Missouri mule, reach for a rhetorical two-by-four.

Of course, Alaska was neglected. Everything from geography, to climate, to sequential historical development dictated this. But "criminal negligence?" Like Las Casas' wildly ballooned statistics of butchered Indians, Jackson resorted to hyperbole to alert and activate his Gilded Age contemporaries. While he perceived that an increasing number of his countrymen were becoming sensitized to the plight of the "vanishing American," Jackson also knew that the corrosive cynicism of that age's Barnum buncombe enured millions against acting as "their brother's keeper." Certainly, when Senator Vest unholstered his deadly wit, he was acutely aware that the mild-appearing little minister was anything but neglectful when it came to pressure politics.

The long range results of Jackson's pre-radio-TV-age verbal overkill were both local and District-wide. Historian Robert DeArmond recalls that as a lad a common public complaint at Sitka was that the Natives received more public money than did the whites. That typified its micro impact. Listen to the macro impact of Jackson's admonishment that Americans reorder their territorial priorities. Horace Briggs in 1888:

> Alaska has no legislature, and no one in Washington to bring her wants to notice [you may chuckle]. In fact Congress has refused to afford her any relief by enacting wholesome laws. [This five years after the District's Organic Act.] It is a case of culpable neglect on the part of that body.[29]

Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore knew Alaska a lot better than Horace Briggs ever would, yet consider her protest seven years later:

> Alaska has virtually no voice at Washington [Senator Vest only wished it were so!]. Its alien office-holders who too often echo in their hearts the sentiment . . . "We live in Sitka only with the hope of leaving it." Alaska citizens . . . bitterly denounce Congress for its hostility, ignorance or neglect.[30]

As the nineteenth century became history, Professor David Starr Jordan summed it all up:

> The primary difficulty is neglect. We try to throw the burden of self-government on people so situated that self-government is impossible. . . . Above all, what is everybody's business is nobody's and what happens in Alaska is generally nobody's business.[31]

Given the sojourners' priorities that may have been the way a large number of Alaskans preferred it.

When utilizing the "neglect" condemnation, Jackson frequently resorted to invidious comparisons between Alaska under the Russians and her sad fate at Uncle Sam's hands. In his Alaska volume, Jackson not only sings this dirge but also plucks harp strings humming the humanitarian progress attained by Englishmen in British Columbia. Not only did he succeed in shaming many a Protestant Church man and woman, but he twisted history. One can understand why the Russian Orthodox American Messenger would declare in 1897:

> The thirty years which have elapsed since the Russian flag was taken down have brought the aborigines to the last depth of destitution. All that was created here by Russian civilization has been ruthlessly destroyed.[32]

But for contemporary students of Alaskan history to subscribe to such an assertion is indeed an Alaskan leyenda negra.

Just as Alaska, past and present, has been encumbered by an esaggerated picture of "criminal negligence," so has it been handicapped by a false geographic image not unlike that of the "Great American Desert." (Vilhjalmur Stefansson has discussed this in considerable detail elsewhere.)[33] Jackson was a broken record of Great Land agricultural prospects, and, like Brady, he dreamed of thousands of Far North farms on which red and white men alike could confirm the wisdom of yeomen Tom Jefferson and Andy Jackson. Brady was quite vexed when he heard from New York friends that despite Sitkans' best efforts, the slide presentations by Harriman Expedition participants emphasized not "agricultural country" but "the finest country in the world for glaciers."[34] Not even the gold rushes at century's end could make the Yukon Valley into an Ohio River Valley.

By 1906, Brady's governorship had ended, Jackson was in virtual retirement, and Alaskan gold production had passed its apogee. Those remarkable gold rushes marked the end of one historic epoch and the advent of another. Among other features that signalled the new era were improved transporation and communication both to and from, and within the Great Land.

Within the United States Senate, Senator Vest gave way to fresher, more optimistic views of Alaska. Listen to the sanguine predictions of Minnesota's Knute Nelson, a Brady ally, as he addressed his colleagues in April, 1904:

> I am sure that if gentlemen in another part of this Capitol had had an opportunity to go and see the situation up in Alaska as we saw it, their hearts would have gone out for Alaska as ours have gone. . . . There are between thirty and forty thousand white people there as intelligent, bright and good as we find in any of our Western States. They are orderly and law abiding. . . . I look for the time -- my children will see the day -- when Alaska will have over a million thrifty, industrious people. There is no end of gold all over that country. All that is needed to to secure it is transportation.[35]

Three years earlier, the good people of Valdez had been informed that their port would be the terminus for a railroad to Siberia. Of course, it never happened. And you know the Alaska Railroad that did happen. It was a new age, and nothing would ever be the same again.[36]

Platitudes, you say, and of course you are correct, for no tomorrow ever duplicates any yesterday. Today we hear much of process theology, process teaching, process this and that. Who of us cannot be alarmingly aware how limited the life of our own individual and institutional candles. Like the replicants in the movie "Blade Runner," we desire desperately to remain professionally alive. We know that so much which was stable in our society is now slippery, more process than a belief, a means rather than an end. My paper has tried to emphasize both.

In closing, let me read to you scattered fragments from an address delivered to the New York City Chamber of Commerce, not by a U.S. Senator, not even by Sheldon Jackson, but by his ally, Governor John G. Brady. The date was February 24, the first year of our century. Brady's comments in part summarize the conflicting priorities and conflicting opinions suggested in this paper.

> We have gone on against every obstacle in trying to develop Alaska. The greatest obstacle has been the indifference of Congress to meet the necessary wants of the people who go there. . . . The country is not such a very great waste as people have thought it was. I have lived there twenty-two years and would rather live in Alaska than in New York State. I can live more healthfully and can obtain more good food for the amount of effort I put forth to obtain it than anywhere else. . . . I would like to tell you the condition of the Eskimo and put in a plea for him, a member of one of the noblest races on this continent. . . . This onrush to Cape Nome . . . is driving them from their homes. . . . A man at Seattle . . . proposes to take a steamship up there and build a house . . . three stories high, and to have a saloon in one story, a theatrical troupe in the second story and beds in the third story. We have no means of grappling with these questions. I for one do not want to be under military rule. . . . The people who are going there are choice picked men of this country. If we had a commonwealth made of such men, men with their families. I undertake to say it would be the grandest commonwealth in this country.[37]

Fortunately, General Agent of Education Sheldon Jackson refused to remain a docile clerk in the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Education. His primary goal exceeded even that far flung dissemination of schools from Hoonah to Unalaska to Barrow. He, and his coworkers, understood their job had two sides: Educate Alaskans to become successful Americans, and educate Americans how truly great was the Great Land.

NOTES -- Hinckley

1. Sheldon Jackson awaits a definitive biography. If and when it is written, it should be two volumes, one detailing his Far West ministry, the second his Alaska labors. Still the best one-volume summary of his work is Robert L. Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson . . .* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1908). For a recent evaluation of his "Rocky Mountain" endeavors, see Norman J. Bender, "Sheldon Jackson's Crusade . . . 1869-1880," *Midwest Review* 4(Spring 1982):11-12.

2. Maurice Montgomery, "The Murder of Missionary Thornton," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 54(October 1963):167-83; R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Jesuit Relations . . .* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1896-1902) remains a vast multivolume (73, in fact) record of their extraordinary religious self-sacrifice; the definitive two-volume Whitmans biography is Clifford M. Drury, *Marcus and Narcissa Whitman . . .* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1973).

3. Conversation with Guy Klett, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa., July 21, 1959.

4. Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 165-67. Winthrop S. Hudson, *Religion in America* (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1973), 322; Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1975) II, 343-44.

5. *Congressional Record*, Senate, 55th Cong., 2d Sess., March 3, 1898, p. 2418.

6. George Norcross to Sheldon Jackson, June 3, 1883, letter in Sheldon Jackson Correspondence Collection, Vol. 13, p. 137, in the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

7. On the Presbyterian missionary work in Alaska, see the author's: "Presbyterian Leadership in Pioneer Alaska," *Journal of American History* 52(March 1966):742-56; "Sheldon Jackson and Benjamin Harrison," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 54(April 1963):66-74; "Sheldon Jackson as Preserver of Alaska's Native Culture," *Pacific Historical Review* 33(November 1964):411-24.

8. *New York Daily Tribune*, April 9, 1867. *Harper's Weekly*, April 27, 1867, p. 263.

9. Oscar Teichmann, ed., *A Journey to Alaska in the Year 1868 . . . Emil Teichmann* (New York: Argosy-Antiquarian, Ltd., 1963), 184. *Alaska Herald*, October 22, 1869. Morgan B. Sherwood, "George Davidson and the Acquisition of Alaska," *Pacific Historical Review* 28(May 1959):144.

10. Howard Lamar, ed., The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1977), 463.

11. Alta California, November 20, 1867.

12. On both the abortive Icelandic settlement and the penal colony proposals, see the author's: "A Proposed Icelandic Colony," Alaska Journal 4(Winter 1974):2-9; "Alaska as an American Botany Bay," Pacific Historical Review 42(February 1973):1-19. Edmund Noble, "No American Siberia," North American Review, September 1887, p. 330.

13. Alta California, January 2, 1876. New York Times, December 22, 1875.

14. H. Duane Hampton, How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1971), 80.

15. U.S. Army, The Army's Role in the Building of Alaska (Anchorage: U.S. Army Hdqtrs., 1969), II. Henry Wood Elliott, "Ten Years Acquaintance with Alaska," Harper's, November 1877, p. 802.

16. Ted C. Hinckley, The Americanization of Alaska, 1867-1897 (Palo Alto, Calif.: Pacific Books, 1972) recounts these perplexing years. William G. Morris, Report Upon the Customs District, Public Service, and Resources of Alaska Territory (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1879), 2.

17. Sheldon Jackson, Alaska and Missions on the North Pacific Coast (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1880). Although the publication date is 1830, copy in the book confirms it must not have been printed until the following year. Nor did Jackson view Alaska in the singular. See his challenging description of the Arctic frontier in "Missionary Work in Alaska," Treasury, May 1895, pp. 15-24.

18. Ivan Petroff, Population and Resources of Alaska (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1881), 81.

19. Charles J. Folger, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1883 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1883), lxxv-lxxvi.

20. Henry E. Fritz, The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963); Loring B. Priest, Uncle Sam's Stepchildren . . .1865-1887 (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1942); and Francis Paul Prucha, Americanizing the American Indians (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973).

21. Instructive on this enormously complex problem is Alden T. Vaughan, "From White Man to Redskin: Changing Anglo-American

Perceptions of the American Indian," American Historical Review 87(October 1982):917-53. Robert F. Berkhofer, The White Man's Indian . . . (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

22. Ted C. Hinckley, Alaskan John G. Brady, Missionary, Judge, Businessman and Governor, 1878-1918 (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1982) recounts Native acculturation and subsequent assimilation patterns in a variety of different areas.

23. On the Westerner's global sojourner qualities, see: A. Grenfell Price, The Western Invasion of the Pacific . . . (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), 45. Juneau City Mining Record, October 4, 1888.

24. Gene M. Gressley, "Colonialism a Western Complaint," Pacific Northwest Quarterly 54(January 1963):1-8. The Alaskan (Sitka), November 21, 1891 and March 11, 1893.

25. Swineford's Alaska: Its History, Climate and Natural Resources (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1898) is probably the best statement of a resident District promoter. Hinckley, Brady, describes this relationship in considerable detail.

26. Ibid., 276 ff.

27. Jeannette Paddock Nichols, Alaska: A History of Its Administration . . . (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1924), 12-13, 112, 168, etc. She may well be the original source for the term "hierarchy" as applied to the Presbyterians and their humanitarian allies. The Alaskan (Sitka), January 17, 1891. James C. Carroll to Sheldon Jackson, August 23, 1904, unfiled letter in the John G. Brady Collection, Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

28. On the leyenda negra, see: William S. Maltby, The Black Legend . . . (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1971). Rocky Mountain Presbyterian, September 1878.

29. Horace Briggs, Letters from Alaska and the Pacific Coast (Buffalo, N.Y.: Commercial Advertiser, 1888), 44. Bushrod Washington James even titled his book Alaska: Its Neglected Past, Its Brillient Future (Philadelphia: Sunshine Publishing Co., 1897).

30. Eliza R. Scidmore, "What Has the United States Done with Alaska?" Century, March, 1895, pp. 794-95. Marilyn Jody, "Alaska in the American Literary Imagination . . ." (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1969), p. 6, has in fact discovered that over "fifty different magazines carried articles about Alaska" before 1900.

31. David Starr Jordan, Imperial Democracy . . . (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1899), 212. And when Congress did act, the

legislation was "detestable" according to ex-Governor Swineford. *Alaska Herald*, July 14, 1894.

32. Jackson, *Alaska*, 137. *Russian Orthodox American Messenger*, quoted in *The Alaskan* (Sitka), October 9, 1897.

33. Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *The Northward Course of Empire* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1922), 229 ff.

34. "Unfiled statement by Governor John G. Brady . . . Before the Senate Committee on Agriculture, February 7, 1900," in C. L. Andrews Papers, Sheldon Jackson College, Sitka, Alaska. For a well written summary of the Harriman expedition, see: William H. Goetzmann and Kay Sloan, *Looking Far North . . .* (New York: Viking Press, 1982).

35. *Congressional Record*. Senate, 58th Cong., 2d Sess., April 18, 1904, p. 4998.

36. *Ketchikan Mining Journal*, August 17, 1901. William H. Wilson, *Railroad in the Clouds . . .* (Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Publishing Co., 1977) expertly recounts the development of the Alaska Railroad.

37. *The Alaskan* (Sitka), February 24, 1900.

SHELDON JACKSON AND THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE CONTRACT SCHOOL SYSTEM: A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF FEDERAL INDIAN POLICY

Stephen W. Haycox

In the late 1860's, after the Civil War, as Americans strived to reconstruct some sense of cohesion and normality out of their previous chaos, one major problem which commanded attention was Indian unrest and depredation on the plains and in the West. Both humanitarian concern for the fate of Indian aborigines and the practical consideration of continued mineral and agricultural development demanded an end to Indian wars, and to the insecurity and uncertainty they caused.

In 1867, President Andrew Johnson, by authority of the Congress, appointed a "peace commission," whose charge was "to establish peace with certain hostile tribes."[1] The commission was authorized to hold councils and make treaties with the Indians; to remove, if possible, the causes of war; to secure, so far as was practicable, the frontier settlement and safe building of railroads to the Pacific coast; and to suggest, or inaugurate, some plan for the civilization of the Indians.[2]

The commission was composed of Generals William T. Sherman, Will S. Harvey, Alfred Terry, and C. C. Angus, Commissioner of Indian Affairs N. G. Taylor, and three other civilian members. General Sherman was the chairman. The report of the commission, printed in 1868, sets forth a sad history of disregarded treaties, savage wars instigated by whites, and wanton massacres of innocent and helpless Indian families by marauding settlers. Most of the responsibility for this tragic state of affairs was placed at the hands of whites.[3]

It is important to emphasize that this report was not presented by clergymen, or school teachers, or social scientists, or philanthropists. It was written and submitted by a government commission, four of whose members were leading officers of the U.S. Army, one of them, indeed, its ranking general. The date was 1868.

The recommendations of the "peace commission," together with continuing Indian warfare, would lead the next year, under former General -- then President -- Ulysses S. Grant, to the proclamation of the "peace policy" regarding the Indians. Influential, too, were the demands of numerous wealthy and vocal humanitarian reformers, such as Lydia Maria Child, whose emotional essay, "An Appeal for the Indian," first appeared in the paper, The National Anti-Slavery Standard on April 11, 1868. Mrs. Child was indeed a former abolitionist, who, following the freeing of the slaves, turned her sensitivity to inequality to the cause of justice for the Indians.[4] She was joined in her effort by fellow abolitionist Wendell Phillips. Most reformers of the period, however, were not former abolitionists. More were like Peter Cooper, the New York inventor, manufacturer and philanthropist, whose Cooper Institute was a center not only for the education of working men, with classes in chemistry and engineering, but was also a forum for humanitarian causes.[5] At Cooper's invitation, a group of clergymen and philanthropists met on May 18, 1868, and resolved to form an association "for the protection and elevation of the Indians, and to cooperate with the United States government in its efforts to prevent desolation and wars on the frontiers of our country."[6] The resulting organization included such people as John Beeson, a deeply religious Englishman who had settled in Oregon, had, as early as 1857, written a pamphlet published at New York entitled A Plea for the Indians, and had carried the case for justice for the Indians to President Lincoln during the war.[7] Cooper's organization also included the famous preacher, Henry W. Beecher, wealthy New York merchant William E. Dodge, and Vincent Colyer, leader of the YMCA and secretary of the United States Christian Commission during the war. Later, in 1869, Colyer would conduct the first significant survey and report on the Indians and other Natives of Alaska.[8]

The policy announced by Grant, and supported by the Congress, the Army and the reformers, was multifaceted. Columbus Delano, Secretary of the Interior until 1874, gave an official description of it in his annual report for 1873.[9] In the first instance, the policy sought to place the Indians on reservations where they could be taught the arts of agriculture and other pursuits of civilization through the aid of Christian organizations cooperating with the federal government, where humanity and kindness would take the place of barbarity and cruelty. This one aspect of the program has led often to its being called the reservation, or concentration policy.[10] Second, the program sought to combine with humane treatment "all needed severity" to punish Indians for "outrages against settlements and settlers." Third, the policy aimed at supplying the Indians with food and other necessities of high quality. Fourth, through the aid of religious organizations, the government aimed to procure "competent, upright, faithful, moral, religious" agents, to distribute goods and to aid in uplifiting the Indians' culture. Finally, "through the instrumentality of the Christian organizations, acting in harmony with the government," the program had as its intent to provide churches and schools which would lead Indians to understand and appreciate "the comforts and benefits of a Christian civilization, and thus be prepared ultimately to assume the duties and privileges of citizenship." One historian has suggested that this sweeping plan was as much a state of mind as it was a set of specific provisions, a state of mind which prevailed throughout most of the rest of the nineteenth century.[11]

This state of mind united Indian reformers in the last half of the nineteenth century as no other factor did. Public meetings, lobbying appeals, published essays, and even government reports assumed a number of fundamental prepositions: that Indian cultures were susceptible of change, that through education -- particularly education in the English language and in western technologies -- Indians could be brought in a single generation to the same level and nature of culture as America represented in the nineteenth century, that civilization meant acceptance of the Christian cosmology, and further, that the apotheisis of western culture was economic, political, social, and spiritual individualism. These were basic cultural tenets in America in the nineteenth century. In many contexts, they still are.[12]

A central part of the peace policy, and specifically articulated in three of the Secretary's stated goals, was the assumption of the legitimacy of the government's reliance upon religious groups and religiously-minded men for the formulation and administration of Indian policy. As one of the foremost historians of American Indian policy has written, the "peace policy" might just as properly have been labeled the "religious policy." And indeed, in the following decades, church groups and religious men came to dominate official government policy and administration of Indian matters.[13]

In 1869, the year the policy was inaugurated, the Congress established a Board of Indian Commissioners to advise the Indian Office and to lobby within and without the government on Indian affairs.[14] Although the relationship of the Board to the churches was not defined in the enabling law, it was very intimate, and the first board was composed of prominent laymen from a variety of Protestant denominations -- Episcopal, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Congregational, and Quaker.

In 1870, in furtherance of the program, the Congress passed an act making Army officers ineligible to serve as Indian superintendents. The act was passed because nearly all agencies were superintended by present or former Army officers. Their removal cleared the way for Christian missionaries, and President Grant accordingly called upon the religious bodies of the country to take the responsibility for filling the vacancies with superintendents and agents of their several denominations.[15] As a result, all Indians under federal jurisdiction were placed under the management of superintendents and agents who were nominated by religious bodies as follows: Orthodox Friends, ten agencies with nearly 18,000 Indians; Baptists with five agencies and nearly 41,000 Indians; Hicksite Friends, six agencies and over 6,500 Indians; Presbyterians, nine agencies with over 38,000 Indians; Christians, two agencies with over 8,000 Indians; Methodists, fourteen agencies, nearly 55,000; Catholics, seven agencies, 18,000 Indians; Dutch Reformed, five agencies, over 8,000; Congregationalists, three agencies, 4,500 Indians; and Episcopalians, eight agencies, with nearly 27,000 Indians. Indians not under the jurisdiction of agencies were declared hostile, and were still the responsibility of the U.S. Army.[16]

Education was considered an essential part of the "peace policy." Without education and training in industrail pursuits, there could be no hope for lasting results from the new program. And the church groups which cooperated with the government by assuming responsibility for Indian agencies were expected to make education one of their primary concerns. In 1875, the Board of Indian Commissioners noted that in order to civilize the Indians and establish them in a permanent condition of self-support, "education must be regarded as a fundamental and indispensable factor," and went on to propose a universal common school system supplied by the federal government to all its Indian wards just as the states provided public schools for their children.[17] This concept was endorsed by virtually every reform and religious group involved in the Indian question after the Civil War.

However, in 1875 the estimated Indian population of the states and territories was over one-third of a million souls.[18] If the school-age children of that population amounted to only 20% of that population, a conservative estimate, the federal government would be expected to provide schooling for well over 66,000 youngsters spread over more than half the area of the continental United States, not including Alaska, requiring perhaps two thousand schools. This represented a financial commitment the federal government was neither able nor willing to contemplate

Since Indian education was nonetheless considered necessary by both private reform and church groups, and by the federal government, the solution proposed was the so-called "contract system," whereby the government gave financial aid to religious groups that set up schools on reservations or in Indian areas.[19] Contracting was formally incorporated into the peace policy by Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hiram Price, who headed the service from 1881 to 1885.[20] By 1883, missionary societies maintained twenty-two boarding schools and sixteen day schools with government aid, in addition to schools they conducted entirely on their own.[21] The system was continued by Price's successors at the Indian Office, J. D. C. Atkins (1885-1888) and John H. Oberly (1888-1889).

Such aid was welcomed with enthusiasm by the religious groups, who responded by putting more money into Indian school buildings and teachers than the federal government itself.[22] Nor was the contribution of the religious societies viewed by the government as merely monetary. "The influence of men and women whose lives are devoted to the uplifting of the degraded and ignorant cannot be measured in dollars and cents," Price asserted in 1883.[23] It is important to understand, then, that the contracting by the federal government with mission societies, utilizing taxpayer funds, for the education of Indian children by religious groups, was perfectly consistent with the basic cultural assumptions of private and public leaders in the last half of the nineteenth century. To the Americans of that time, the employment of missionaries as public school teachers seemed quite natural, because it seemed quite natural to them to view Christianity -- particularly evangelical Protestant Christianity -- as one of the distinguishing characteristics of the civilized life. To such Americans, the question of the constitutionality of using federal monies to support avowedly religious teachers was not an important one. And when the question later was raised, many were surprised and dismayed.[24]

It was in the context of the federal peace policy and the school contract system that the mission, and then federal effort, was initiated to provide Native services in Alaska. The particular parts of that effort are familiar to most. Suffice it to say here that Sheldon Jackson was able to see to the success of mission activity in Wrangell in 1877, at Sitka in 1878, and throughout southeast and other parts of Alaska in the ensuing decade.[25] In 1885, subsequent to the first civil government act, he was appointed "General Agent of Education in Alaska," and in the absence of other representatives of the government, was in effect the federal agent for Indian activity in the district. That Jackson was responsible to the Commissioner of Education, rather than to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, is an important phenomenon too detailed for review here, and in any case it did not affect his activities in Alaska, except perhaps to give him somewhat freer rein.[26]

As is clear from his reports to the Commissioner, Jackson's ideas were completely consistent with the policies of federal and private Indian reformers of the 1870's and 1880's. In his first report as a federal official, the 1886 report as general agent, Jackson outlined his activities and his goals. He included a section on "Moral Training."[27] "The training of the schools should be extended to the heart as well as the mind and hand," he wrote. "The teacher who would be true to his mission and accomplish the most good, must give prominence to moral as well as intellectual instruction."

> They [the Indians] need to be taught that both the law of God and the law of the land forbid more than one man and one woman living together as husband and wife, that each family should have a separate home, however small, that lying, stealing, and impurity of speech and behavior are alike offenses against God and man.[28]

Along with moral training, of course, went instruction in the various trades of civilization, as Jackson saw them: carpentry, boot and shoe making and the like for the boys, housekeeping, cooking, gardening, and sewing for the girls. The ultimate goal was economic and spiritual individualism. "As instruction necessarily creates new wants, . . . it is but proper that instruction should go further, and so train the hand that newly created wants can be supplied."[29] Students in the Alaska schools, therefore, should be taught not only reading, writing, and arithmetic, but as well "how to live better, how to make more money in order to live better, and how to utilize the resources of the country in order to make more money." Moreover, they should learn that vices like theft and polygamy are "not only destructive of society, but a disgrace to themselves."

Jackson had begun his own missionary career in the West even before the Civil War. He was well established as an advocate of education for Indians when the "peace policy" was devised and implemented. In the early 1870's, when the policy was being inaugurated in the West, he was superintendent of the Rocky Mountain district of the Board of Home Missions of the Prebyterian Church, the religious organization with the third largest number of Indians in its agencies -- over 38,000 -- and with the third largest number of agencies -- nine.[30] It should not be surprising, then, that Jackson was completely supportive of and devoted to the ideas and methodologies of the "peace policy."

Nor should it be surprising or considered unusual that Jackson introduce the contract system into Alaska in his attempt in the 1880's to establish schools in Alaska Native villages. He was clear about the practice from the very beginning. Under the heading, "Cooperation with Religious Bodies," in the 1886 report, he explained that as some of the great missionary organizations of the United States had already commenced work in Alaska, "it has been deemed wise to arrange with them for cooperation in the work of establishing schools."[31] In stating his reasons, Jackson was perhaps a bit dissembling, for he concentrated not on the meager Congressional appropriation for his office, but on compatibility of teachers and other whites in remote areas, and he assured the Commissioner of Education (who, as a Presbyterian supportive of Indian reform, did not need the reassurance) that the several missionary organizations had been given to understand that "it is the purpose of the government to provide non-sectarian instruction in the public schools."

Jackson's funding of his contract schools, of which there were fifteen (at Anvik, Point Hope, Metlakatla, Bethel, Carmel, Hoonah, Sitka, Barrow, Unalaska, and Yakutat, half of the schools established in the territory by 1895), was more economical than was the same type of funding of its contract schools by the Office of Indian Affairs in the other states and territories.[32] Whereas the Indian Office paid $167 annually for an Indian pupil in a mission school, Jackson paid between $90 and $150 per annum for a pupil boarded, clothed, and instructed, and a mere $30 per annum for day pupils.[33] For the brief but critical period during which contracts were relied upon, 1886-1894, the Bureau of Education paid a total of $135,404.73. The largest amount paid to a single school or denomination was paid to the Presbyterian Sitka Industrial School, the only boarding school with which there was a contract.[34]

The money paid by the government was, in most instances, far less than that contributed to the same schools by their parent mission organizations, according to the reports of the U.S. Commissioner of Education. In 1891-1892, for example, contract funds in the amount of $28,980 were paid to eight denominations. Those same denominations paid $68,211.61 for the same schools. The Episcopalians received $2,480, while contributing $1,187.61 of their own funds. But the Presbyterians received $1,000 to match their own contribution of $31,724.65. The Catholics received $3,000 while contributing $10,300 of their own money, and the Moravians received $2,000 while contributing $6,613.37.[35] In all instances save one, that of the Episcopalians, the private funds contributed for the maintenance of the contract schools far exceeded the government payments. Indeed, federal funding for the fifteen contract schools amounted to 30% of the total funding for those schools from both private and public funds. The total number of schools over which the federal government had jurisdiction in that year, 1891-1892, was twenty-nine. In addition, there were apparently ten mission schools operating which received no government assistance. Also, there were probably a dozen Russian Orthodox day schools still operated by priests in Aleutian and lower Yukon villages.[36] The federal government operated fourteen schools outright, and contracted with mission societies for operation of the fifteen contract schools already mentioned. The appropriation of the Congress for the Bureau of Education operations in Alaska for 1891-1892 was $40,000. The $28,890 paid in mission contracts for that year was about 60% of the total Bureau budget, a significant level of support.[37] For some of the mission societies, the federal funding was critical; for others it was merely a token contribution. For the federal government, contract expenses were nearly two-thirds the total federal expenditure in Alaska for education, a level of support which suggests the validity of the oft-repeated claim that without the federal contracts, Jackson could have done only a portion of what he was actually able to accomplish.

The contract system of funding Indian schools was terminated by the U.S. Congress in 1892-1893. There were a number of reasons why the practice was ended. First, the peace policy had ended. It was officially halted by the passing of the Dawes severalty act of 1887. That landmark piece of Indian legislation replaced the reservation of lands for Indians with a policy encouraging them voluntarily to sever all formal relationship with their tribes -- to sacrifice their lands and their culture -- in return for individual land allotments given by the federal government, and the promise of citizenship in twenty years. Although many had misgivings, most reformers supported the Dawes policy. In an age of less broad vision, it held out a solution to the Indian problem through assimilation of the Indians into white American culture. Ideally, in future Indian children would be barely distinguishable from white children, and would attend the same schools.[38] Already by 1887, however, the peace policy had failed. Perhaps due to lack of experience and naivete, the staffing of Indian agencies with religious men and women did not solve the Indian problem. There was still corruption in the Indian service, and Indian unrest continued, as the disaster at Little Bighorn River in 1876 made only too clear.[39] In the 1870's the Board of Indian Commissioners gradually lost its effectiveness, as Secretaries of the Interior and Commissioners of Indian Affairs increasingly ignored its advice and sought to find for the Indian service better-qualified personnel. Ironically, at the very time the service was relying heavily upon the contract system for its schools, it was easing missionaries and religiously-minded reformers out of all other activities of the Indian Office. And, along with most other reformers, mission societies and religious groups hailed the Dawes policy as the answer to the Indian question.

There was, as well, anxiety over the constitutionality of the contract system in some circles. That anxiety did not impress most Congressmen at first, and contract funds were overwhelmingly approved. The question wouldn't die, though, and each year the debate over the legitimacy of contracting grew more serious.[40] Finally, in response to increasing public criticism, an amendment was successfully voted, attached to the Indian appropriations act, prohibiting the use of such monies for contracts with religious groups.[41] This action did not directly prohibit the Bureau of Education from contracting, and it continued to do so in academic year 1893-1894. Such a course was folly, however, for the Congress had signalled its intention, and after that year there would be no more contract system.[42] Yet the constitutionality of the practice was never tested in the courts, doubtless only because the system was ended before a case was brought. Thus, while the system may have offended the constitutional sensibilities of some, it was not technically unconstitutional.

What is more important is that, whatever our notions are today of the validity of a mixture of federal and church funding for education, it is abundantly clear that when the peace policy was adopted, and when Sheldon Jackson implemented the contract school system in Alaska, there was in this country, and especially in the federal government, widespread and enthusiastic support for and acceptance of the legitimacy of government funding and utilization of church groups and religiously-minded persons to develop and administer federal Indian policy.

In light of this phenomenon, criticism of Jackson on the issue of contracting is misplaced. Jackson did no more, nor less, in Alaska than similar agencies and functionaries were doing elsewhere in the country at the same time. Moreover, when they stopped, he stopped. More appropriate is the traditional recognition by historians and other writers of Jackson's successful encouragement and development of a vital, effective system of schools in Alaska through judicious use of public and private monies and teachers, albeit within the context of a paternalistic and culturally narrow philosophy, and through sometimes arrogant administrative techniques. Wherever else his shortcomings, and his strengths, Jackson should not be accused of unconstitutional use of his office and its funds, and still must rightfully be considered a respected father of education in Alaska.

NOTES -- Haycox

1. *Congressional Globe*, 40th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 756-57. The genesis and activities of the peace commission are explained in Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in Crisis: Christian Reformers and the Indian, 1865-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976), 18 ff. I have relied heavily upon Fr. Prucha's interpretation of the development of the peace policy. Federal Indian policy after the Civil War is discussed also in Loring B. Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren: The Reformation of United States Indian Policy, 1865-1887* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1942), Henry E. Fritz, *The Movement for Indian Assimilation, 1860-1890* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), and Robert Winston Mardock, *The Reformers and the American Indian* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971).

2. *United States Statutes at Large*, XV, 17.

3. "Report of the Indian Commissioners," *House Exec. Doc. No. 97*, 40th Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 486-510. See also, Dept. of the Interior, *The Indian Bureau from 1824 to 1924*, Board of Indian Commissioners Bulletin No. 242 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1924).

4. Lydia Maria Child, *An Appeal for the Indian* (New York: n.d.), passim. See Prucha, *Indian Policy*, pp. 25-26.

5. Mardock, *Reformers*, argues that former anti-slavery reformers were important in post-Civil War Indian reform. Prucha, however, in *Indian Policy*, disagrees; see p. 26. On Cooper, see Prucha, *Indian Policy*, pp. 26-27.

6. Prucha, *Indian Policy*, pp. 26-27.

7. Ibid., pp. 4-6.

8. Ibid., pp. 26-27, 40-41. Colyer's report on Alaska is Appendix D of the *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1869*, *House Exec. Doc. No. 1*, 41st Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 975-1058.

9. *Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1873*, *House Exec. Doc. No. 1*, 43d Cong., 1st Sess., pp. iii-iv. See Prucha, *Indian Policy*, pp. 30 ff.

10. Wilcomb Washburn, *The Indian in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), 209 ff.; William T. Hagan, *American Indians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 92 ff.

11. William G. McLoughlin, ed., *The American Evangelicals, 1800-1900: An Anthology* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968); Robert T. Handy, *A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and*

Historical Realities (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971). See particularly, Prucha, "Indian Policy Reform and American Protestantism, 1880-1900," in Prucha, *Indian Policy in the United States: Historical Essays* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 229-41.

12. McLoughlin, *American Evangelicals*; Handy, *A Christian America*.

13. Prucha, *Indian Policy*, p. 32.

14. Ibid., pp. 33 ff.; Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*, pp. 42-53; Mardock, *Reformers*.

15. *United States Statutes at Large*, XVI, 360; Prucha, *Indian Policy*, pp. 42 ff.

16. Donald J. D'Elia, "The Argument over Civilian or Military Indian Control, 1865-1880," *The Historian*, 24(1962):206-25.

17. Prucha, *Indian Policy*, pp. 265 ff.

18. Ibid., p. 271.

19. Ibid., pp. 190-91; Prucha, "Indian Policy Reform," pp. 242, 247-48.

20. R. Pierce Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indians: Two and a Half Centuries of Partnership in Missions between Protestant Churches and Government* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1961), 187.

21. Ibid., p. 195; Interior, *The Indian Bureau*, p. 20; Prucha, *Indian Policy*, p. 290.

22. Prucha, *Indian Policy*, p. 290.

23. Ibid.

24. See *Congressional Globe*, 50th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 1074-75; also Prucha, "Indian Policy Reform," pp. 246-47. Also, Thomas Morgan (Commissioner of Indian Affairs), "Supplemental Report on Indian Education," *House Exec. Doc. No. 1*, 51st Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 93-114.

25. Ted C. Hinckley, "The Alaska Labors of Sheldon Jackson," (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1961); "Publicist of a Forgotten Frontier," *Journal of the West* 4(1965:27-40); "Presbyterian Leadership in Pioneer Alaska," *Journal of American History*, 52(1966):742-56; Robert Laird Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson: Pathfinder and Prospector of the Missionary Vanguard in the Rocky Mountains and Alaska* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1908). See also, Sheldon Jackson, *Alaska and Missions on the North Pacific Coast*

(New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1880).

26. Sheldon Jackson, *Report on Education in Alaska*, *Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 85*, 49th Cong., 1st Sess. (1886), passim. *A full explanation* of the decision to make Jackson responsible to the Commissioner of Education is Stephen Haycox, "Ethnicity and Education in Indian Policy: The Decision to Place Alaska Native Services in the Bureau of Education, 1872," unpub. ms, 1981.

27. Jackson, *Report*, p. 22.

28. Ibid., p. 32.

29. Ibid., pp. 12-13.

30. Interior, *The Indian Bureau*, p. 20.

31. Jackson, *Report*, p. 27.

32. Lester Henderson, "The Development of Education in Alaska, 1867-1931" (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1935), 121-22, 124.

33. *Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1896-97*, *Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 137*, 55th Cong., 2d Sess., pp. 11-14.

34. Henderson, "Development of Education," pp. 124-25.

35. *Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1896-97*, pp. 12-13; *Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1892-93*, *House Exec. Doc. No. 1*, 53d Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1747.

36. Thomas Robert Hopkins, "Educational Provisions for Alaska Natives Since 1867" (M.A. thesis, University of Texas, 1959); Henderson, "Development of Education," p. 134. The federal schools were at Sitka (one white, one Native), Juneau (one white, one Native), Douglas (two white, one Native), Wrangell, Jackson (i.e., Howkan), Haines, Killisnoo, Klawok, Kake, Afognak, and Kodiak.

37. Henderson, "Development of Education," pp. 124-26.

38. On the Dawes act, see Priest, *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren*, section IV, and D. S. Otis, *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands*, edited by Francis Paul Prucha (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973). On the hopes for the act in terms of education, see Prucha, "Indian Policy Reform," pp. 144-51; also Handy, *A Christian America*, pp. 101-05; Paul Stuart, *The Indian Office: Growth and Development of an American Institution, 1865-1900* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms/UMI Research Press, 1978).

39. Prucha, *Indian Policy*, pp. 93 ff. Even if the battle

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at the Little Bighorn be considered a victory for the Sioux and other Indians, the national and federal reaction, culminating in the final sequestering of the western Indians, and in the Dawes policy, must surely be counted a disaster for the self-sufficient way of life previously followed by the Indians.

40. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, *House Exec. Doc. No. 1*, 53d Cong., 1st Sess., p. xvii. See also, Beaver, *Church, State*, and Laurence Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs: Its History, Activities, and Organization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1927); Stuart, *The Indian Office*.

DR. SHELDON JACKSON:
PIONEER ALASKAN EDUCATOR FOR ALL SEASONS

Evelyn K. Bonner

Education. Although education is a very vital part of our heritage, many volumes have been written in attempts to define it. Broadly framed, education involves teaching and learning and intentionality. There are times when people teach and no one learns and times when people learn incidentally and no one teaches. The latter is not included in our definition here. It is when persons with things to teach and audiences that are there to learn meet on purpose, that education happens. It may be formal or informal and is not limited to schools. However, most societies have schools to teach what they, as societies, value as independence. Sheldon Jackson sought the same for Alaska.

The history of Alaska cannot be adequately written without frequent mention of Dr. Sheldon Jackson, who demonstrated his own pioneering energy in the way he went about securing education for Alaska's people.

Jackson not only established schools in Alaska, but he created a pressure to encourage parents to send their children to school regularly. He was, in every way, a great humanitarian, teacher and educational thinker. Alaska, of course, was particularly blessed in having him as General Agent for Education. This is not only because he made a significant contribution to the development of education in Alaska, but also because of the commitments he brought to the field of education. It was, as the many references testify, a total commitment, and because of this dedication he was able to put the full force of his personality into the leadership role he occupied.

Ideas of the kind Jackson had take time to formulate. To an eminent degree he sacrificed himself and his time to the benefit of one of the greatest sources of mental power in America and in the world -- Education.

Jackson believed in education, and because he believed in it he was always confident about the future. He exhibited qualities which we admire and should try to equal or excel.

The first child of devout parents, Jackson was born on May 18, 1834, in Minaville, New York. His formal education included several years in a private Presbyterian Academy in Haysville, Ohio; Union College at Schenectady, New York; and theological training in Princeton Seminary. His early life was fairly typical of Presbyterian ministers of this generation. His parents were middle class farming people whose religion was an integral part of their home life.

After graduation from seminary in 1858, Jackson was appointed a missionary to the Choctaws in Indian Territory by the Board of Foreign Missions. He had to resign after a year of missionary activity because of poor health.

Jackson foresaw the tremendous opportunities of the Rocky Mountain West as the end of the Civil War produced a tide of western migration. He headed west and served in the Colorado area, where he worked diligently for many years.[1]

After leaving Colorado, Jackson came to visit Alaska in 1877. This vast, unknown territory had become the property of the United States in October of 1867. The area was inhabited largely by a population plagued with disease and poverty. The story of the plight of Alaska's people gripped Jackson's heart, and he felt he had to go to Alaska permanently.[2] He immediately became an advocate for the territory and its people. Soon after its purchase from Russia, Alaska became a powerful symbol for the American people -- a symbol full of expectation and fascination. At the same time, Alaska was an unknown and unharnessed mystery, full of untapped and uncontrolled power. The Alaska to which Jackson came had one theme in common with the rest of the world -- the need for schools and education in order to stem the flood of moral breakdown on the frontier. The government, in purchasing Alaska from the Russians, had promised that its people would have all the privileges of United States citizens, but nothing was being done about it.[3] For ten years after the purchase, with the exception of two small Orthodox schools and two on the Seal Islands, the entire population was without any educational advantages.

In 1877, Jackson first arrived in Sitka in response to an appeal for help by both military personnel and Native people. At that time he was a dynamic, successful Presbyterian missionary, already middle-aged. His first look at Alaska led him to forget all other causes and concentrate on Alaska's needs, which in those times were many.

When Jackson began his advocacy for education in Alaska, there were about 7,000 children of school age who had seen no schools except those of the Russians. Jackson decided that Alaskans must have schools. He presented the needs to the Congress, but the response was slow. Finally, at the beginning of 1880, schools were promised for Alaska, but no money was allotted until later.

Jackson and his friends conducted a campaign for education which attracted the attention of the 47th Congress and acquired such momentum in the 48th as to carry into the civil bill a clause on education. Congress was swamped with petitions from more than twenty-five states. Some twenty memorials were sent from New York alone. Prior to this time, civil government bills had not aroused much attention in Congress; approximately twelve had been thrown out in the sixteen years between 1867 and 1883.

Jackson continued to work unceasingly, trying to secure some form of government for Alaska, and with it public schools for the children. It was probably as a result of these efforts that Congress incorporated in the Harrison Act of 1884 the provision charging the Secretary of the Interior with the responsibility of educating Alaska's children without regard to race. In March, 1885, Henry M. Teller, Secretary of the Interior, directed the Commissioner of Education to carry out the purpose, and $25,000.00 was appropriated for the education of Alaskan children. This was the beginning of public education in this territory.

The Commissioner of Education, John Eaton, considered the responsibility of organizing schools in Alaska of great importance. There were many problems: the vastness of the territory, the fact that large tracts of it were icebound and inaccessible during a part of the year, the isolation of the established fur settlements and trading posts, the lack of available means of communication except for the most primitive types and the fact that the schools were to serve a segment of the population which had been deprived. All of these problems contributed to the seemingly overwhelming difficulties of providing Alaskans with an adequate education.

The first essential in the organization of schools as stated by Commissioner Eaton in his report to the Secretary of the Interior was that of finding a reliable person to supervise the work. In a report of 1882, Commissioner Eaton had made the following statement:

> Alaska is entirely outside of all organized efforts for education and presents a singular fact of being an integral part of the boasted most progressive nation in the world and yet without the least possible provision to save its children from growing up in grossest ignorance and barbarism.[4]

Now it was within Commissioner Eaton's authority to select a General Agent for Education in Alaska, and on April 9, 1885, he wrote the following to his superiors:

> In looking for the proper person to become such an agent, I find no one either so well qualified or so strongly recommended as Mr. Sheldon Jackson. He has repeatedly visited considerable portions of the country and written a book which is a popular source of information in regards to its people and their progress, and led the way in the establishment of the schools at present, taught in the territory, and is now their Superintendent. He was unanimously recommended for the position of Superintendent of Instruction by all of the private organizations some time since aiming to promote education in Alaska, and by a considerable number of prominent men. I have known Mr. Jackson thoroughly for a considerable number of years. He is a Christian gentleman, of excellent ability, great energy, and, I believe, specially fitted to carry through successfully, the plan of establishing schools in that far off country.[5]

Eaton also pointed out in this letter that the nearest school in Alaska would be 4,500 miles from Washington, D.C., and all of the schools would be widely separated from each other. He went on to say that the appropriation of $25,000.00 was small and urged the communities possessing money to share in bearing the expense of education. Eaton could foresee no possible way to organize schools in Alaska under the foregoing circumstances, with the exception of appointing someone in Alaska as a general agent for education. If this person resided at Sitka, he could go out on the naval ship to visit the chief areas of population where schools could be established and interest the people. He could assess teacher and buildings and grounds needs and furnish the data for the intelligent direction of the schools from Washington.

Jackson was appointed and paid a nominal salary of $1,200.00 per year, which was said to be a little more than would cover expenses. An act of July 4, 1884 appropriated $15,000.00 for the support of education of Indian children of both sexes at industrial schools in Alaska.

Jackson continued to be thankful for the fruits reaped as a result of his labor but continued to plead with Congress to increase its appropriations in the effort to educate Alaska's children. Jackson's task was large indeed. To direct such a system in any other state where stage coaches and railroads were available would certainly be possible; to do the same thing in Alaska -- with its vast territory and no public conveyances for travel except a monthly steamer in the Southeast section, without roads and largely without any means of transportation -- would require more difficult travel than would any other conceivable location.

Because of the small appropriations made for the establishment of schools in Alaska, it was not deemed wise to attempt much in the way of buildings. But Jackson repeatedly insisted that Congress enlarge its appropriations so that suitable buildings could be built at Sitka, Wrangell, Juneau, Killisnoo, Klawock, Kodiak, Unalaska, Belkoffski and Unga.

In spite of the small appropriations, often not definite in amount, and the serious hardships involved in travel to and within Alaska, progress in improving and extending schools was continuous during the early years of Alaska's school history.

When the Bureau of Education was assigned the task of providing education for the children of Alaska in 1885, the Presbyterian Mission schools in Southeastern Alaska were taken over by the government, with the exception of the Industrial Training School at Sitka. On Jackson's recommendation, the mission schools which had been established since Alaska's purchase by the United States were continued as public schools, and others were established and operated under contracts made by the government with the missionary societies of several denominations interested in the missionary field in Alaska. In his annual report for 1886, Jackson reported schools operated by missions under contracts with the federal government at Sitka, Juneau, Hoonah, Haines, and other parts of Southeastern Alaska. There were schools in Western Alaska at Unalaska in the Aleutian Islands, one at Bethel on the Kuskokwim River, one each on the Yukon and Mushavik rivers in the interior and on the Pribilof Islands.[6]

A sharp reduction of federal appropriations for the support of schools in Alaska took place from 1893 to 1894. When this occurred, mission boards continued the schools from which government support had been withdrawn. According to the reports of the period during those years (1894-1895), there were seventeen government schools and twenty-four schools supported by the Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist, Congregational, Baptist, Lutheran and Roman Catholic churches.[7]

Jackson summed up his philosophy of education in his first report:

> Education creates new wants. It is therefore proper that instruction should train the hand in order that newly created wants can be supplied. The work of the Alaska School System is not only to teach reading, writing and arithmetic, but also how to live better and how to utilize the resources of the country in order to make more money.[8]

The aims and objectives set up by Jackson were far reaching and comprehensive in scope. He incorporated these ideas into the schools as rapidly as possible. He had already legislated the teaching of cooking and sewing for the girls two afternoons per week and made plans for instructing the boys in industrial work. According to Jackson, "the purpose of the school is to develop an intelligent and useful citizen."[9] Many policies -- in keeping with today's educational standards -- were introduced by Jackson in his contribution to education in Alaska's past. He recommended that steps be taken by Congress to make attendance mandatory in the government schools. He stressed the importance of character education, which he referred to as moral training among the Natives, and of education concerned with health and sanitation. He also recommended, in his first annual report of 1886, that institutes of two weeks duration be held for teachers annually, feeling that this would ease the isolation and give the teachers contact with the outside world. Also in his first report on education in Alaska, Jackson recommended that Congress provide an appropriation for suitable school buildings at the nine centers where federally-supported schools had been established. None of the existing buildings was owned by the government, and none was adequately equipped in accord with the needs.

The policy of providing a school program designed to promote gradual adjustment of Native Alaskans to the social and economic life to which they were constantly coming into closer contact, inaugurated during the service of Dr. Jackson, was considered of special importance by succeeding commissioners throughout the years during which schools were conducted under the Bureau of Education.

No man was more honest and sincere, and no one more abused. Today it is hard to understand the abuse and epithets piled upon him. Because he stood for the defense of the Native, his recognition as a factor in Alaska's progress, and his education, Dr. Jackson was subjected to all manner of persecution. He was referred to as "Shellgame Jackson" and denounced as an enemy of his country. In the face of all opposition he quietly and effectively accomplished his great work for God and humanity. He died in 1909, at the age of seventy-five.

He was first in education, first in missionary work, and first in economic importance in the founding of Alaska under United States administration. A major achievement of Jackson's Alaskan experience was his introduction of reindeer into the territory in 1891.

> He formed the plan of importing reindeer and educating these hunters of the sea to breed them. He felt that as the natives of Lapland and northern Asia had long used reindeer as a source of food and clothing, the animals would be of great benefit to the Alaskan Indians. He went to Congress for means to import the animals, but was refused. Undaunted, Jackson advertised for funds to initiate the work. He was supported by Senator Teller, later Secretary of the Interior. He secured first a subscription of funds to import the reindeer, and later an appropriation for the education of the natives in the care of the animals. The reindeer furnished both food and clothing of the very best quality for the people of the North. Thus [Jackson] carried education to the Northland.[10]

Jackson was identified with success. He seems to have had a keen sense of his own historical importance, for he kept extensive files of his correspondence and filled scrapbooks with material relating to his career as a missionary and educator.

Jackson's association with the Presbyterian Church may have caused some to accuse him of partiality to the denomination, using the large sums given to the Sitka Industrial School to cite proof of the contention. At the time, the Sitka school was the only industrial school of importance in Alaska and had the highest enrollment. These facts provided some justification for the allocation.

Naturally, a man in Jackson's position was not free from criticism. He combined audacity with a sense of responsibility. From the beginning, Jackson's work in Alaska met with bitter opposition. There were officials who disagreed with his plan to educate the Indians. They saw this as a threat to their existing powers, and they made life miserable for Jackson.[11]

With reference to false charges thrown at him, Jackson reported the following:

> At Sitka, I met with considerable annoyance and opposition from some of the late officials stationed there. For reasons best known to themselves, those officers directly threw their official influence in opposition to the school and mission work. This commenced while I was superintendent of the Industrial School at Sitka and was continued after I resigned that position and accepted the Government Agency. This opposition culminated on the 19th of August, 1885, at which date I went aboard the monthly mail steamer with school desks and furniture for the Government school at Wrangell and Jackson. Also with papers and instructions necessary to set them in operation by early September. I was also expecting to visit Killisnoo and see what arrangements could be made for a school there. Just as the gang plank was to be drawn in before leaving, I was arrested by Deputy Marshal Sullivan, and with unnecessary rudeness hustled off the steamer. After the arrest, I was locked in a cell until the steamer was out of reach. When I was taken before the judge, arrangements were made for increasing my bonds to $3,200 and I was set free. As we have only one mail steamer a month they accomplished their purpose by detaining me in Sitka.

Early accounts of Jackson's work are of interest because of the principles and policies for education in Alaska established under his guidance and continued throughout and even beyond the period of his service.

Jackson had many friends in the Congress who were also members of the Presbyterian Church. A good friend and former coworker was Robert Laird Stewart, who described the missionary's life in a book entitled Sheldon Jackson. The diminutive reverend was a persuasive orator, a persistent letter-writer, and an inordinately successful fund raiser. All of these qualities kept up his enthusiasm for the goal of educating Alaskan children.

Jackson's dedicated work provided a system of education for people who had a future before them as American citizens. He established schools where there were no schoolhouses or teacher residences. All of these obstacles had to be dealt with. Building materials had to be ordered from 1,500 to more than 4,500 miles away. His task was to find qualified teachers who would work for a moderate salary and be willing to separate themselves from society, for some of them were to settle in isolated areas of the Arctic, where they could hear from the outside world only once a year.

He demanded for Alaska education that stressed moral and intellectual precepts plus physical training simultaneously.

Jackson's work was solid and enduring. He was able to handle people. His was a delicate role, involving the supervision of others without having real authority over them. One secret of his ability to deal with people who were inclined to be highly individualistic was by demonstrating solidarity with them by his willingness to share the physical hardships of pioneer life and travel.

It was more than 100 years ago that Jackson, with his pioneering missionary spirit, came to Alaska and began his dedicated work in support of education in this great land. His contribution to Alaska's education began to take root in 1878, just eleven years after the United States purchased Alaska from Czarist Russia. Jackson was small in stature but "big" in visions.

A vivid reminder of Jackson's pioneering educational work is to be seen in the continuation of Sheldon Jackson College in Sitka today.

One hundred plus years of relentless toil and change have modified Alaska's past educational system. The system, although varying to meet the changing needs of its people, remembers and builds upon the contributions of the past.

Alaska owes much to Sheldon Jackson. He was a man of bold, far-reaching conceptions and a great resourcefulness in executing them. Jackson was a man who would not be denied. He believed that the goodness of creation is not for any one generation to consume, but for each generation to enlarge and pass on. This is indeed the essence of proper stewardship and of better living.

Alaska is ours today because William Seward had vision, determination and faith in the future, and Alaska is better because Sheldon Jackson tackled aggressively and with zeal the job of lighting here the lamps of understanding and of education

NOTES -- Bonner

1. The major source for the life and work of Sheldon Jackson is the large collection of letters and scrapbooks in the Sheldon Jackson Collection at the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and the work by Robert Laird Stewart, Sheldon Jackson (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1908).

2. Stewart, Jackson, p. 21.

3. Henry W. Clark, History of Alaska (New York: Macmillan, 1930).

4. Katherine M. Cook, "Public Education in Alaska," U.S. Department of the Interior, Bulletin No. 12 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1936), pp. 19-22.

5. Sheldon Jackson to Henry M. Teller, Secretary of the Interior, October 13, 1883, Jackson Correspondence, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

6. Sheldon Jackson, Report on Education in Alaska (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886), pp. 1-20.

7. Ibid., p. 24.

8. Sheldon Jackson, "The Founding of Sheldon Jackson School" (Reprint), The Verstovian, 8(May, 1925).

9. James Sheakley, "Governor's Report on Education in Alaska," The North Star (Sitka), January, 1896.

10. Clarence Leroy Andrews, "Alaska's First Educator," Alaska Life, September, 1943, p. 43.

11. Ibid., pp. 44-45.

EDUCATION IN RUSSIAN AMERICA

Michael Oleksa
Richard Dauenhauer

Formal education in Alaska, in the European sense, is now entering its third century. The first 100 years were implemented by the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian-American Company. The second 100 years were initiated by the Presbyterian Church and the United States government, with increasing transfer of authority to local control at the territorial, state, and community levels.

Unfortunately, basic historical facts of the first 100 years remain unfamiliar to the average Alaskan. Simply stated, the facts are these:

1). Education existed in Russian America.
2). It was bilingual.
3). Literacy was taught both in Russian and the local Alaska Native language.
4). Books were written and published in the four Alaska Native languages with which the Russians had the greatest contact: Aleut, Central Yup'ik, Alutiiq, and Tlingit.
5). There was considerable widespread popular literacy in Russian and the Native languages.
6). The educational system had many illustrious graduates.
7). The American Protestant philosophy regarding bilingual education and Alaska Native culture conflicted with the Russian Orthodox philosophy.
8). Specifically, Alaska Native language and culture were forbidden beginning with the American period.
9). The momentum of the Russian era continued until about 1912.
10). Although bilingual/bicultural education is now legally permitted, and in some cases encouraged or required,

the momentum of the second century is continuing into the third.

The present paper comprises the most recent stage of ongoing research by Oleksa and Dauenhauer in the intellectual history and social context of education in Alaska. Because this paper is a continuation of our earlier work, it seems beneficial to summarize and establish that context here.

Following Krauss, it is useful to divide the Russian period in Alaska (1741-1867) into three stages of about forty years each: the early period (1745-1785), the early missionary period (1785-1825), and the Veniaminov era (1825-1865).[1]

The Russian Orthodox mission to Alaska established bilingualism as its norm, with literacy in Russian and the Native language of the particular area as the ideal. Oleksa, in "The Orthodox Mission and Alaskan Native Languages: A Brief Overview," surveys this literacy effort in various languages and places it in an historic context.[2]

In his "Spiritual Epiphany of Aleut," Dauenhauer focuses on perhaps the best example, the flowering of Aleut literacy in the nineteenth century, and includes biographies of over a dozen Aleut writers. The Aleut achievement was the high point of the Veniaminov era and the momentum which carried it well into the American period.[3]

In "On Orthodox Witness," Oleksa presents a brief theological background of Orthodox mission in general, and to Alaska in particular.[4]

Oleksa's "Orthodoxy in Alaska: The Spiritual History of the Kodiak Aleut People" focuses on specific implementation of this theology and mission in one area of Alaska.[5]

This is expanded in his "Three Saints Bay and the Evolution of the Aleut Identity," wherein Oleksa studies the influence of Orthodoxy on the self identity of three distinct populations, each of which recognizes its difference from the other two, yet all of which call themselves "Aleut" -- the Unangan (Aleuts of the Pribilof and Aleutian Islands), the Central Yup'ik speakers of Bristol Bay, and the populations of the Alaska Peninsula, Kodiak Island, and Prince William Sound. These three groups all share a heritage of Orthodoxy, Russian intermarriage, and bilingualism.[6]

Two important aspects of this thesis should be reviewed here. First, Oleksa studies three world views: "Pre-modern," Russian Orthodox, and American Protestant. He compares the similarities between the pre-contact Native and Orthodox world views that contributed to the success of the Orthodox mission with minimum social disorientation, and points out the differences and conflicts between the Native and American Protestant world views that led to the social upheavals Alaska Native people have experienced in the last 100 years.

A second aspect of this research is the look Oleksa takes at the Native role in middle management of the Russian colony. He has compiled biographies of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Aleuts who were graduates of the Russian American educational system. Most are Creole, with Native mothers and Russian fathers. They studied in local bilingual schools, went on to higher education in Russia, and returned to leadership positions in the society.

In general, their achivement has not been recognized by American historians, who, because of their names, consider them Russian and not Native. Ironically, some writers have minimized Creole achievement on the one hand, and then unknowingly cited Creoles on the other hand as examples of Russian achievement.

Some of these biographies are presented here because we feel there has been little to equal this in the "track record" of education in the American period, even to the present day.

In "Conflicting Visions in Alaskan Education" and "Two Missions to Alaska," Dauenhauer compares and contrasts the Russian and American views of religion and education by focusing on the lives and philosophies of the Orthodox Bishop Innocent (Veniaminov, 1797-1879) and the Presbyterian Sheldon Jackson (1843-1909).[7] Each was a missionary to Alaska, each founded schools, and at his death each man had been elected to occupy the highest position in his church.

Except for these parallels, the two men differed drastically regarding the relationship of Native culture, Native language, and Christianity.

For the Orthodox, the issue of cultural diversity was resolved in Apostolic times, as recorded in Acts. One did not have to become a Russian to be a Christian. Alaska Native languages were used liturgically and in the schools, translation of scripture was encouraged, and at the Sitka seminary, several years of Alaska Native languages were required.

Jackson, on the other hand, argued that Alaska Natives could not become Christian unless and until they had been acculturated or "civilized." Translation of scripture was abandoned on the grounds that the languages were too heathen and sin-ridden to express civilized Christian thought, and in Sheldon Jackson School the use of Native languages was expressly forbidden. All instruction was to be in English only.

Jackson became Superintendent of Education for Alaska, and his policies and the laws based upon them continued in force in Alaska until well beyond the mid twentieth century. The debate over the value of bilingual education and Native languages is neither new nor resolved.

Bilingual education was the norm in Russian America, with proven results. It was abolished in the American period, with the following results: most Native languages are on the verge of extinction, a very low level of intellectual self-esteem exists for most Native communities, families and communities have suffered from extreme social upheavals.

The bilingual schools of Russian America attempted to build on indigenous talent and potential, and channel it to new fulfillment in new directions, such as literacy. In the American period, the schools had the express purpose of destroying Native language and culture.

Our goal in the present paper is to establish a simple historical record for those unfamiliar with early history on schooling in Alaska (mostly pre-Veniaminov), explain its conceptual basis, and document the lives of some interesting graduates.

At this point, we do not want to become too deeply engaged in a debate over its success or failure. Facts, observations, and opinions are distributed through a range of primary and secondary sources too extensive to cover here.[8]

We make no claims to objectivity in this paper. We feel it is more honest to state our bias at the start: We are advocates of bilingual education, and we are Orthodox. However, this is not intended as a polemic or diatribe. Rather, we seek to establish a record, and let the record speak for itself.

Formal education in Alaska begins with Gregory and Natalya Shelekhov, who operated a small school in Three Saints Bay on Kodiak Island from 1784 to 1786. What meagre records exist regarding this school show that it was bilingual, and that the Shelekhovs made an effort to write Alutiiq, the Native language of Kodiak Island, using the Russian alphabet. The school was short lived, and was abandoned after their return to Russia.

In 1794, the first clergy arrived on Kodiak, including the Monk Herman. It is assumed, but not recorded in extant documents, that he initiated schooling of some kind in the 1790's. The paper trail picks up again when Baranov is recorded as subsidizing a school in Kodiak in 1801. Even this absence of documentation does not preclude the probability that former students and Company employees continued some educational work throughout this period.

The early nineteenth century witnessed a renewal of efforts in education. In 1804, Hieromonk Gideon reorganized the Shelekhov school. In 1805, Count Nikolai Pezanov, who was deeply concerned with education, subsidized schools for boys and girls at St. Paul Harbor, site of the present city of Kodiak.

By 1805, school books were produced in the Native language by Fr. Gideon, and Nikolai Rezanov officially appointed Fr. Herman as the head of the school in Kodiak.[9] By 1807, the school had 100 students, and Fr. Gideon and Paramon Chumovits had begun an Alutiiq dictionary and primer, but with Rezanov's death the school was forced to close for lack of financial support.

When chief manager Matvei Muraviev took over in 1820, he issued a directive reiterating the Rezanov goals of 1805 and directing the Company to support education. Among the goals was that schools should produce seamen, military, agriculturalists, artisans, ship builders, craftsmen, accountants, administrators, agents, navigators, and people skilled in medicine and surgery. Although there seem to have been some problems, the venture seems to have been successful on the whole.[10]

The trail picks up again in 1823, when Fr. Herman, at the age of sixty-six, left Kodiak to establish his hermitage and school on nearby Spruce Island. This became the most successful mission school of the era and continued until Fr. Herman's death in 1842.

Among the faculty were the Creole Sophia Vlasov and an Aleut named Gerassim Zirianov, who was an active writer of the Alutiiq language, and who became a church officer, but not a tonsured monk, as Starr erroneously concluded.[11]

Fr. Herman is remembered both for his school and his exemplary Christian life. His memory was greatly cherished by the Native people of Alaska, and in 1970 he was canonized as the first North American saint of the Russian Orthodox Church.

The greatest figure in Russian-American education in Alaska in the nineteenth century was Bishop Innocent (Veniaminov, 1797-1879). He arrived in Unalaska in 1824, built the Cathedral of the Holy Ascension, designed an alphabet for Aleut, and, with the help of the Aleut leader Ivan Pan'kov, started translation into, and original writing in, Aleut.

In 1834 he moved to Sitka, where he encouraged writing in Tlingit and produced instructional materials in Tlingit and Russian. In 1840 he was ordained Bishop of Kamchatka, the Kurile and Aleutian Islands. He built the Cathedral of St. Michael the Archangel, 1844-1848, and in 1845 moved the seminary from Petropavlovsk to Sitka.

The seminary (high school) curriculum included navigation, medicine, Latin, trigonometry and six years of Alaska Native language. Graduates from the Sitka All Colonial School established bilingual elementary schools which developed into a full statewide system of forty-four parochial schools by 1900. In 1869, Bishop Innocent was elected Metropolitan of Moscow.

Because so much has been written about him already,[12] we will not discuss his life and achievements any further here, but simply make a few summary comments. Bishop Innocent is responsible for confirming bilingual education and Native language literacy in Alaska. He was aided in this by more support from both Church and Company than had been given to his predecessors, and he gained from the work of his predecessors. He also benefited greatly from the collaboration of numerous gifted colleagues, such as the Creole Priest Yakov Netsvetov and the Aleut leader Ivan Pan'kov.

As the paper trail becomes more defined through the work of a growing number of scholars, it becomes ever clearer that these talented Native and Creole people were not anomalies, but were a part of a larger cultural context.[13]

Our understanding and appreciation of the Russian era are limited by our lack of evidence. For example, Starr notes that many bilingual materials are attributed to Bishop Innocent, but that none are extant. This is only partly true. There are some materials in print, and we can assume that many more circulated in manuscript. New research is constantly locating fragments of manuscripts, lesson plans, notebooks, etc., if not used by Veniaminov, then certainly used by Orthodox teachers well into the American period.

Starr argues that Veniaminov's claims of widespread literacy are inflated.[14] Based on our own research, we would disagree with Starr and agree with Veniaminov. Enough documentation exists, and enough Native language literacy has survived among the oldest generations despite sixty years of suppression, that we can imagine literacy was far more widespread in its heyday, and was spread as much tutorially and liturgically as in formal classrooms. Certainly, some Eskimos and many Aleuts continued reading and writing their own languages in Cyrillic a century after the sale of Alaska.

Without going into detail here, we should state that on the whole we find Starr informationally useful and valuable, but we find most of his conclusions culturally biased and marred by inaccuracies and stereotypes. We disagree with his interpretation of events almost totally. We note also that Starr's usage indicates some basic lack of understanding of Orthodoxy and linguistics, and conveys hostility to Russian culture in general.

We feel he especially errs in his conclusion on Creole achievement, where his factual evidence contradicts his own opinions. Some of the achievements he attributes to Russians are actually accomplishments of Creoles who graduated from the educational system he is denegrating.[15]

Perhaps it is time to look at a few interesting lives.

One of the most interesting graduates of the Orthodox parochial schools, Ilarion Archimandritov, received his elementary education at Unalaska, 1827-1833, and was sent at Company expense to the Kronstadt Naval Academy near St. Petersburg for college-level studies in navigational science and cartography. An accomplished seaman, he sailed the North Pacific from the Pribilofs and Atka to Sitka and San Francisco for two decades, and was decorated for heroism for rescuing passengers and crew when the Naslednik Alexander sank. Later, he explored and mapped Kodiak Island by bidarka, producing the first accurate charts of the area, which were published in the 1852 Teben'kov Atlas.[16]

Major General Alexander Kashevarof, a Creole from Kodiak, also attended the Kronstadt Academy. Together with another Creole seaman, Nicolai Chernov, he explored the Arctic coast of Alaska by kayak, mapping the coast to a point forty miles east of Barrow. Later, Kashevarof conducted two around-the-world cruises and served as governor of the Siberian port of Ayan. He retired to St. Petersburg with a distinguished record of service to the Company and his homeland spanning three decades and five continents.

Father Yakov Netsvetov studied at the Irkutsk Theological Seminary and returned to his home town of Atka in 1829, where he immediately organized a bilingual school. After a dozen years serving his fellow Creoles and the Native and Russian residents of the Western Aleutian Islands, he was transferred to the Yukon delta as the first missionary to the Yup'ik Eskimos. His detailed accounts of daily life in Atka and Russian Mission constitute a fascinating record of village life in nineteenth-century Alaska. He was the first to devise a writing system and teach Yup'ik at his parish school on the Yukon. Old and nearly blind, he retired to Sitka, where he died and was buried at a site no longer located. His two brothers also distinguished themselves, one as a navigator on a circumnavigation of the globe, the other as a shipbuilder.

Simeon Lukin, whose trading post on the Kuskokwim is described in Lt. Zagoskin's journals, began his career on the Nushagak River after finishing elementary school at Kodiak. He earned the respect and admiration of Russian officials by his honest and energetic work among the Native people in the modern Aniak area during the 1830's and 1840's.

Modern-day Aleuts and Eskimos such as Matthew Berezkin (+1971), Nicolai Epchook (+1961), Vladimir Melovedoff (+1979), Sergei Sheratine and others continue this tradition of bilingual (and even trilingual) literacy into the late twentieth century.

Our epilog addresses the period in which education in Alaska's past became education in Alaska's present. As this is the era of "Conflicting Visions" detailed elsewhere in our work,[17] we will focus briefly on new aspects of that conflict here.

It should be clear now that, contrary to popular opinion, we do not consider Sheldon Jackson a "pioneer educator," but a relative late comer who initiated the present educational era with a world view and philosophy radically different from educators and missionaries in the Russian period.

Orthodox mission proceeds from a belief that all things are fulfilled in Christ, not REPLACED by Christ. Thus, traditional cultures are "baptized" into a "newness of life," not discarded and replaced by alien cultures. If all persons share in the image and imprint of Divinity, then each person is most fully Christian and most fully the image of God when he or she dedicates his or her energies, personality, and culture to Christ, rather than discarding them and trying to become the image of someone else.

The old person is reborn, not replaced by a substitute. This is the conflict, and it runs deep in separating Eastern Orthodox Christianity from some groups in Western Protestant Christianity.

For nearly 100 years, policy in the American period called for eradication of Native language, culture and religion, and replacement by American language, culture, and religion. This was the irreconcilable conflict initiated into Alaska Native life in the American period.

In the early 1880's, an historically significant meeting was held in Philadelphia. The paper trail of this meeting is still unclear, and scholars of Alaska church history are researching it. It is unclear if it was held in 1880 or 1884, and if Sheldon Jackson presided over it.

In this ecclesiastical "non-aggression pact," Alaska was partitioned into mutually respected spheres of influence. Generally speaking, the Methodists got Unalaska and the Aleutians, the Baptists got Kodiak, the Presbyterians got Southeast and the Arctic, the Moravians got the Kuskokwim, the Catholics got the mid and lower Yukon, and the Episcopalians got the upper Yukon and Interior. (It is interesting that the Lutheran Church was not included, the Lutherans being the only Protestant church active in Russian America, with pastors and a congregation in Sitka, 1840-1865.)

Conspicuously absent from the agreement are the Orthodox, and in many areas Protestant churches and boarding schools were established in traditionally Orthodox areas. The impact was not purely "religious" in the conventional sense, but cultural as well. In these areas, traditional Native world view and Orthodox Christianity conflicted head-on with American secularism.

Unfortunately for the Orthodox, and, we believe, for the Native people as a whole, the new world view had the force of law. Thus, the American government could and did close Orthodox church schools by force, and public use of Alaska Native languages could be and was in fact outlawed as a punishable offense.

Records of the 1890's and 1900's indicate considerable tension between these conflicting visions. The Native people did in fact protest. They did not take the introduction of the new policies lying down. Also, as one can imagine, there was considerable hostility between the Orthodox and Protestant clergy. All of this is documented in correspondence, newspapers, and journal accounts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

It also seems more clear now that the case for persecution of the Orthodox Church is not based on Orthodox paranoia or romanticism, but on historical evidence. The paper trail indicates that Sheldon Jackson had no use whatsoever for Orthodoxy, and he is quoted as having predicted its early demise in Alaska. A growing body of evidence further suggests that he actively worked toward that goal, envisioning eradication of Orthodoxy as well as Alaska Native language and culture as vestiges of a pre-American past.

It was probably not by accident that in Sitka, Unalaska, and Kodiak Protestant missions were established less than half a mile from traditional centers of Orthodoxy, and vested with legal power to remove Native children from home and community. But this must wait for another and more detailed paper on that period. Our purpose here is to document some aspects of education in Russian America, and call to awareness that bilingual education is not new in Alaska, but was standard in its first century. Our purpose is admittedly to set Sheldon Jackson in perspective. We consider him a product of his age and culture, as were the Russians. We do not mean to be unfair to him, but only to balance the picture a bit by suggesting that he was a late comer and a radical.

Moreover, we wish to call attention to a few of the graduates of the educational system in Russian America. These people were certainly exceptional in the sense that all outstanding people somehow are; but they were not anomalies in the total social context. We believe it is not only fair, but imperative to judge an educational system by the people it produces and the community mental health it creates. In both respects we find the Russian period admirable, and the American period wanting.

The battle for full implementation of the new policies started after 100 years of Russian education with a different cultural, spiritual, and pedagogical base. The battle is not yet over, but is still being waged emotionally, legally, and pedagogically in our classrooms today.

NOTES -- Oleksa and Dauenhauer

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13. See, for example, the recent article by Lydia Black, "The Curious Case of the Unalaska Icons," *Alaska Journal*, 12 (Spring, 1982), on Vasilii Kriukov, and Barbara Smith's "Cathedral on the Yukon," *Alaska Journal*, 12(Spring, 1982), on Innokenty Shayashnikov, a Creole missionary among the Eskimos.

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16. M. D. Teben'kov, *Atlas of the Northwest Coast of America*, translated and edited by R.A. Pearce (Kingston, Ontario: Limestone Press, 1981).

17. Dauenhauer, "Conflicting Visions in Alaskan Education."

THE EDUCATIONAL ART OF A NOTED ESKIMO TEACHER: WILLIAM A. OQUILLUK

Gene Adam and Rose Atuk Fosdick

The analysis we present is based on William A. Oquilluk's handwritten manuscript, housed in the special collections of the University of Alaska, Fairbanks. Permission to gain access to this manuscript was provided to us by the archivist of this collection at the request of Dr. Laurel L. Bland, and we thank her for her kind permission.

William A. Oquilluk, an Inupiaq Eskimo, was born on March 27, 1896 at Point Hope, Alaska. His people are from the interior of Seward Peninsula, an area called Mary's Igloo or Kauwerak. William worked at many occupations in his lifetime. He had stopped public schooling when he was about fourteen. He was a longshoreman on the docks of Nome, a reindeer herder, construction worker, trapper, hunter, tin miner and barge pilot. But above all, for us, he was a writer. He began writing down stories and legends he heard from elders at the age of eighteen or nineteen and continued until 1972, the year of his death at age seventy-five. The collections of writings are his culture's stories, legends, history and beliefs. He wrote faithfully and did not become discouraged even when his collection burned in a fire at his home. He met Dr. Laurel Bland when he was about seventy-one years of age, and they accomplished together what William had begun, a publishable version of the legends of northern Eskimos. His dedication to his heritage and its preservation will be recognized soon when a major publishing firm will print his photograph among those of other noted Native Americans in an elementary-level social studies text.

Our thesis is that William Oquilluk's work is very carefully wrought as to the exactness with which things are stated, and that a meticulous examination of Oquilluk's ideas on education will reveal an interesting and even profound philosophy of education and learning. Oquilluk wrote about individual and group learning and the transmission of learning from one generation to the next. A careful reading of this work is richly rewarded with ideas basic to an understanding of the human experience of learning.

Oquilluk was an historian, a philosopher and writer who wrote, with precision, the facts and beliefs he knew of and observed. His narration of legends in written form was one of the first transitions from the more traditional way of safekeeping legends by his culture, by word of mouth. The handwritten manuscript revolves around legends of the Eskimos. The character in the majority of the legends in this manuscript is a culture hero named Ekenick, whose name translated from Inupiaq means "burning coal." Ekenick is the man chosen by an old prophet to broadcast the prophecies that proclaim four major disasters to the Eskimo people.

The present edition of *People of Kauwerak* is revised slightly from the first, which was published in 1973. Dr. Bland added a "Note to the Second Edition" and a photocopy of a manuscript page from Oquilluk's original work. It is on that original work that we are basing our essay, not because the printed version is not valid, but because the original wording has great interest. Our quotes from the original are attempts to reproduce the exact orthography and layout used by Oquilluk in his writing. Be prepared for a very personal style. The manuscript that became *People of Xauwerak* with the help of Dr. Bland is complex in its interweaving of beliefs, history, legends and philosophy. From this manuscript an anthropologist could find insights into Bering Strait history dating from the days when the Seward Peninsula was a warm country. A correlation of events recorded here to events recorded by other cultures would be an interesting project. A folklorist would find the legends valuable. The philosophy that Oquilluk relates seems to be a personal understanding of life and a group philosophy understood by the culture.

As educators, we are especially interested in the fact that Oquilluk's whole manuscript is about the transmission of knowledge. The manuscript is full of facts, not only of interest to educators, but to all. Oquilluk's work, as we said, is describable as "legends of the northern Eskimo" (its subtitle as published), as folk history, as personal narrative, and as a philosophical and ethical treatise. By means of these categories, we with western training can draw lines of longitude and latitude across the face of his work and come up with an assessment of its place in the world of letters. Very little of this type of analysis has actually been done, and one can predict that with time there will come into being some very interesting studies of this work -- for example, a study of the mythic aspects of *People of Kauwerak* a la Campbell or Eliade or Neumann is begging to be done, as is a study that could take into its ken some cross-referencing from the history within the book to the natural scientific history of the region of the Bering Strait

However, what concerns us today is different from what can be revealed by Jungian criticism or a criticism that compares the world of letters to the world of rocks and trees and establishes their meeting points in time. A look at the handwritten notes or text that Oquilluk spent the major period of his life putting together, a reading of these notes in conjunction with a reading of the printed text they were the basis of, brings us face to face with the unexpected -- an embedded theory of the relation between the physical world and the human soul that is a radical heightening of the importance of words. So read, the work of Oquilluk is revolutionary enough. But what is most shocking in it is the naturalness of its being. It is purely and authentically an utterance that world and man bring forth together. So understood, the work ratifies the importance it had for Oquilluk, that he would have spent the time on it that he did, that he would have called it, as he did, "very, very precious."

What we are working towards in this paper, then, is not an analysis of Oquilluk's work in any of the more narrow-gauge modes that western academic practice has evolved, valuable as that might be. Since there has been so little done with this work to date, it seemed that we could meet the theme of this conference and take a wide look at Oquilluk at the same time by extracting from Oquilluk's notes, written in his own words with reference only to himself and his imagined audience, those statements that touch upon learning and teaching. What comes out of this turns out to be a theory, sometimes explicit, sometimes embedded, that is very interesting, as we shall see.

Oquilluk is very aware of the dimensions of his own role in taking it upon himself to write down the stories of his people. We quote from his notes:

> Have bein told, of many many century ago; history bein told by our ancestors, to there decesendent, they have past to many generation to a generations, then to our grandperants.
>
> A very historical, which are very important, to write it into a book. Actually no one have written it as yet.
>
> A history of our ancestor, life. Very valueable and very, very precious. It is very most true historical.
>
> Therefore, I have force myself to, volunteer, to write it, even thro I'm not intelligene man.[1]

He forces himself to write because he recognizes the need and value to education, and repeats this belief often.

In the beginning of the telling of the stories, Oquilluk says:

> Stories began have bein told from our real, ancestor, of centrys to centrys, have passing to generation to generation until, I, William A. Oquilluk, time, I have heard them 3 disasters, each have kill most people exceipt few have survive.[2]

The formal appelation "William A. Oquilluk" reflects his conviction of the seriousness of the enterprise he is embarking upon -- all the years of talking, thousands of years of talking, are coming to rest in him. He is not different from other Kauweramiut in this regard. The responsibility for all of them is heavy, but the burden is light because these are the words of people one respects -- the elders. As he tells us in his words quoted above, there is a clarity in history that we in the western tradition do not share except in matters of religion: History lives in a clear light from the present to the past; there are no mists of time, no dim and ancient days. The passing from generation to generation is complete and true. It is "historical . . . very most true historical." To be a worthy bearer of this history requires effort and attention. For the individual, only part of the work falls to him, and with effort and attention he can carry out his part. But the group effort is perfect. All the history of the past can be carried intact into the present. To think otherwise is to deny the worthiness of one's ancestors, and there is no need to do that.

In praise of Ekenick, the author lists his virtues as wisdom, quickness to learn; the people respect him because he knew more. So Oquilluk introduced the culture hero, Ekenick, as quick to learn, and as Oquilluk moves through the legends of Ekenick we become aware of the need and value of education through the eyes of generations of Inupiat.

Oquilluk tells us that at one time there was no need for intelligent actions because the area was a paradise. The physical changes of the earth, causing a cooling of the climate, earthquakes, volcanoes and winters of extreme cold reversed the habit of inactive brains. Describing Ekenick's part in this revolution of thinking, Oquilluk exaggerates by stating: "So, Ekenick took hold of process, then proclaim to his people."[3] This statement is pictorial and to the point, for it conjures the passing of information in a tangible form, being understood and accepted, from the old prophet to the people.

The legend of Ekenick tells of an exercise of learning involving the whole community. After being instructed by the old prophet, Ekenick began a long journey to a mountain, bringing with him a man from the village. The journey became an educational experience, as each day both learned something of value that they shared with the village community. For example, after observing a leaf sail across a lake Ekenick made a sail boat. During this journey both men discovered that fish could be dried, stored and eaten later. Also during this long journey Ekenick copied spider webs to make a fish net out of deer hide. The picturesque way in which Oquilluk describes the thought process Ekenick used when designing the first clothing, now necessary because the climate was cooling, illustrates Oquilluk's understanding of the brain as a muscle: "Ekenick he work in his head, how there clothes should be, there arm and leg should cover too, so he cut a wood, and cut it like his image."[4]

The people changed their ways, adapting to the climate. By necessity people learned how to build homes that were energy efficient, how to catch fish by net, how to store food. These survival techniques included the study of the stars for navigation, and again Oquilluk stresses the group philosophy of learning and sharing knowledge for the benefit of all: "Tonight I will teach you of the stars, because you have to teach others they too, can teach there descendants from now on."[5]

Throughout the manuscript Oquilluk talks of basic concepts of learning and education. The need and value of education is an inherent part of change. Learning and education are necessary for survival in the physical world, especially if that world is a dramatically harsh environment. The environment can be overcome, or we can reduce its effects on us, by using our brains and sharing that knowledge. Education can only be beneficial if it is shared by all, no matter what their capabilities, because we are all in this environment together. Learning can be a revelation gained from one of higher intelligence, as seen in the experience of Ekenick and the old man, or it can be a revelation gained by observance of natural phenomena, as seen in the experience of Ekenick and the man on their journey to the mountain.

Oquilluk was a teacher. He teaches the reader the ways of the Eskimo using the accepted Inupiaq curriculum, which is storytelling. Oquilluk relays the stories from his elders. Many stories have a meaning or lesson much like the parables of the Bible. For example, the lesson that we must respect animals and birds is taught in the tale of two brothers who destroyed cache robber nestlings and the subsequent trials and tribulations they encounter as a result. Other Eskimo insight acquired from years of experience is valuable and is taught by Oquilluk. Not many people know the Eskimo calendar system, or that long ago shamans traveled to other places and even to the moon. All this information is available to anyone interested and may be gained by reading the legends Oquilluk wrote down and the notes he includes. He is an educator and he is a psychologist, for the education is presented in stories which are always interesting and always gripping.

In Oquilluk, the psychology of learning is also a philosophy of learning which is detailed and insightful in a rare way. The insights are in the best sense original, which means they are rooted in personal experience, and also traditional, which means that that originality has been woven into the fabric of group life. It is this combination which makes cultures both stable and lifegiving. In the interests of establishing an interpretive context, we can juxtapose Oquilluk's statements on learning with some extracts from the major work of the modern German philosopher, Martin Heidegger. What emerges from this conjunction is a clear placement of Oquilluk's work in a line of thought upon the subject of learning which is most insightful and, one might add, least integrated into those academic disciplines which pass for respectable in schools of education in universities today -- known by such sobriquets as "ed psych" and "culture and learning."

First, some passages from Oquilluk, describing Ekenick and his companion making a "long distance journey" to a mountain:

> Every steps they move ahead, toward their destination investigate is very please, because every step they made, saw a new thing, and it important, to go through it.
>
> Found many new things, which they do not know not what it was, wherter it might be use, or not.
>
> There are in concept, also concern, very curious they enjoy every move they made, become a civiliz. Ekenick he very much amaze, for everything all are special, alway from home, whenever they move it actual, behold, it excellent.[6]

Now Heidegger, from *Being and Time*:

> Curiosity is a distinctive tendency of Dasein's Being, in accordance with which Dasein concerns itself with a potentiality-for-seeing. . . . Curiosity, however, does not make present the present-at-hand in order to tarry alongside it and understand it; it seeks to see only in order to see and have seen.[7]

As counter-phenomenon to curiosity, Heidegger describes the "moment of vision":

> That present which is held in authentic temporality and which thus is authentic itself, we call the "moment of vision." This term must be understood in the active sense as an ecstasis. It means the resolute rapture with which Dasein is carried away to whatever possibilities and circumstances are encountered in the situation as possible objects of concern, but a rapture which is held in resoluteness.[8]

Dasein, of course, is Heidegger's marker for something like the presence-to-self of man without the elaboration of the idea of man -- in other words, a sort of acknowledgement of "here we are." Authenticity for Heidegger is one half of a dialectic in which we all live, the other half, the inauthentic, being the lostness in the crowd which we have learned from Sartre and Hemingway, if not from Heidegger himself.

The key aspect of this passage is the concept of the moment of vision -- it is the moment of the uncovering of the most essential character of the world, a glimpse of being itself. It occurs in an intensity which has its counterpart in the drowning of intelligence in the gabble of the crowd -- the inauthentic but unavoidable complement to epiphany.

If Oquilluk and Heidegger have cornered the same quarry, it is not necessary that their vocabulary be consistent. In the matter of terminology, what Oquilluk uses the word "curiosity" to represent is that state of mind which Heidegger designates as "care": "Care is always concern and solicitude,"[9] or: "When we ascertain something present-at-hand by merely beholding it, this activity has the caracter of care just as much as does a 'political action' or taking a rest and enjoying onself."[10] Or, most completely, "Man's perfectio -- his transformation into that which he can be in Being-free for his ownmost possibilities (projection) -- is 'accomplished' by 'care.'"[11] Care, in these contexts, is essentially equivalent to Oquilluk's "concern, very curious," which, along with a sense of duty (Heidegger's resoluteness) is what drives the men on their journey to the mountain.

Furthermore, to take Oquilluk's narrative as metaphor is not to denigrate it as history; the journey tothe mountain is a statement of Heideggerean resolve, and that enjoyment, that amazement ("they are very much amaze") is Heideggerean rapture. The journey-takers move in "resolute rapture," in which a prolonged moment of vision comes into existence: "Everything all are special, alway from home. Whenever they move it actual, behold, it excellent."[12]

The metaphor is accurate and it is extended. "Alway from home" evokes the idea of strangeness of discovery or "uncovering," as Heidegger puts it:

> When in falling we flee into the "at-home" of publicness, we flee in the face of the "not-at-home"; that is, we flee in to the face of uncanniness which lies in Dasein. . . . This uncanniness pursues Dasein constantly, and is a threat to its everyday lostness in the "they."[13]

To be not-at-home, to be a sojourner in a strange land, clears the way for what Heidegger calls the moment of vision, what Oquilluk alludes to more directly as that insight which is granted to sojourners, again: "Whenever they move it actual, behold, it excellent."[14] This is the real learning which must precede any teaching; it is the concomitant of the "uncovering" which defines man and the world as inter-creative. Oquilluk is identifying the type of attention to the nature of things of which Ekenick is an adept and which he is attempting to teach to his people. He is a glowing coal from which fire can spring. But first his own striving for insight had first to take place, and now the task of teaching can begin.

Our intention in this paper has been only to initiate exploration of the richness of this work. In fact, very few published articles have been done on Oquilluk's legacy, though the book is a steady seller for its publisher, APU Press, and reviews, including one by Jack Fost, have appeared. In Nome a local radio station (KNOM) provides readings over the air from the book, to an apparently appreciative audience. What we are attempting to do is recognize some of what is there in the work and share our ideas in a way that will promote further and more extensive research. This is, then, merely an introduction to the really vast territory that is then to be explored by historians, folklorists, literary critics, philosophers and educators.

NOTES -- Adam and Fosdick

1. William A. Oquilluk, Handwritten mansucript, archives, University of Alaska, Fairbanks, p. 14.

2. Ibid., p. 16.

3. Ibid., p. 19.

4. Ibid., p. 26.

5. Ibid., p. 41.

6. Ibid., p. 30.

7. Martin Heidegger, Being and Time (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), p. 397.

8. Ibid., p. 387.

9. Ibid., p. 238.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., p. 243.

12. Oquilluk, Manuscript, p. 30.

13. Heidegger, Being and Time, p. 234.

14. Oquilluk, Manuscript, p. 30.

ELLEN KITTREDGE LOPP, AN ALASKAN MISSIONARY

Jeanne Engerman

My job as Assistant Librarian with the Washington State Historical Society brings me into daily contact with the materials -- the photographs, the business records, the letters and the journals -- that historians use in their research and writing. I am here to share information about a valuable collection of letters housed at the Washington State Historical Society in Tacoma, letters which relate directly to the history of education in Alaska, with the hope that they will be used by historians and researchers to gain new insights into Alaska's past.

The letters in question were written between 1892 and 1902 from the Congregationalist Mission at Cape Prince of Wales, the westernmost point of land on the North American continent. The author of most of these letters is Ellen Louisa Kittredge Lopp; her father, sister and brother figure in some of the later correspondence. But before going into greater detail, I would like to digress a bit and give some background information.

In her book, The Eskimos of Bering Strait, 1650-1898,[1] anthropologist Dorothy Jean Ray explains that in 1890 Sheldon Jackson believed that the Eskimos were a dying race, due to a decrease in the numbers of whales and walrus caused by white hunters and due to exposure to disease and alcohol. Ray disagrees with Jackson's belief; instead, she found that the Eskimos were in fact gaining in population around that time and that there were sufficient alternative sources of food However, in 1890 Jackson acted according to his beliefs. He arranged for a joint program of the United States Government and various missionary societies, combining teaching and missionary work. Several Protestant denominations were assigned each to distinct areas of northern Alaska. Calls went out for missionaries. A notice in the Congregationalist publication American Missionary stated: "It is obvious that none need nor will apply who are not Christian heroes, and who have not in themselves the stuff of which martyrs are made."[2] Harrison R. Thornton and William T. Lopp responded to the appeal and in 1890 were assigned to travel to Cape Prince of Wales and establish a school and, by teaching and example, to introduce Christianity to the Natives.

Travel to the Northwest coast of Alaska was severely restricted due to weather conditions, and ships had access to the coast usually between late June and early September. Most mail was picked up and delivered during these months as well, and it often took over a year for letters written between the States and Alaska to reach their destination -- if they ever reached it at all. So you can see the isolated conditions which these two missionaries volunteered for.

Lopp and Thornton landed on July 4, 1890, and, with the assistance of ships' carpenters from several whaling vessels and the U.S. Revenue Cutter Bear, a structure to house them, their supplies and the school were completed in ten days. The ships left, and the two men were alone with the Natives. One month later they began teaching school, and from the beginning the school at Cape Prince of Wales was highly successful.

Thornton returned alone to the States a year later, in the summer of 1891, with plans to return to Alaska the following summer. While in the States he married a New England woman, and a call was placed in missionary publications for a young woman to accompany the Thorntons to Alaska, to be a companion to Mrs. Thornton as well as to teach. Here is where Ellen Kittredge enters the story.

Ellen Louisa Kittredge was born in 1868 and grew up in Glyndon, Minnesota. An aunt of hers had served for years as a missionary in the Hawaiian Islands, so the family had strong connections with missionary work. Letters to her family indicate that in 1890 Nellie, as her family called her, was teaching in a mission school for Norwegians in Minnesota. In 1891 she went to Wilmington, North Carolina and taught in an institute for black children. It was while in Wilmington that she learned of the Alaska position, and events moved rapidly.

A letter home dated April 3, 1892 asked, "Oh, may I go to Alaska to teach? Do you see the Advance? There is a call in that for a young lady to go there with a man and his wife who are about to go. The climate would be better for me than this because I keep warm so easily." The remainder of her letter spoke of a new dress and an upcoming trip to the East.[3]

By the next letter, eight days later, she had received several communications over the Alaska position, including a telegram asking, "Do you think favorably of accepting appointment to Alaska, telegraph answer." Her response was yes, and the April 11 letter home was spent in convincing the family that she was doing the right thing. "Papa has been so interested in Alaska that it has helped make me so," she wrote. "Didn't he once suggest my going there to teach? It seems as if I could remember something of the kind." She concluded her letter with a characteristic remark: "You can just imagine from having seen me in the past how enthusiastic I am over this."

"Enthusiastic" is a good word to use in describing Nellie. By the middle of June, 1892, two months after she first read the call, at the age of twenty-four, she found herself one of five passengers on a ship bound for Alaska. One letter home described how her fellow passengers were thoroughly tired of the trip -- one man was "positively rampageous." Her comment was: "But I am enjoying the trip first rate." Her only fear was that when she could be happy in spite of accomodations, she felt people might think she'd never known what it was like to have things clean.

The same letter shows Nellie had a fatalistic approach to life. Once again she justified her decision to go to Alaska by writing: "Mrs. Thornton couldn't go alone very well, so someone had to take the place and I might as well be uncomfortable as anyone."

Nellie didn't seem to be very uncomfortable, however. Several long, lively letters described her trip in great detail, and she enjoyed travelling alone rather than "travel with anyone who would tell me what I should or shouldn't do, or worry about things or talk to me when I didn't want to listen." To say that she was independent is an understatement, considering the Victorian age she lived in.

But my intention is not to present a biography of Nellie Kittredge, although I do find her a fascinating person. What I want to do is share excerpts from her letters which will give a picture of the life and the thoughts of an Alaskan missionary.

Nellie reached Cape Prince of Wales in July, 1892, and a month later she married William T. Lopp, who went by the name Tom. Over the next ten years, with the exception of one year in the States, they lived at either Cape Prince of Wales or within fifty miles of it. Six children were born to them in Alaska; they taught Natives, and they were part of the government's reindeer program to introduce and domesticate Siberian reindeer herds in Alaska.

They also wrote hundreds of letters, which kept their families and friends informed about all their activities and shared private observations and feelings. William Lopp's correspondence is available in the University of Oregon library and has been used by Dorothy Jean Ray and other authors. To the best of my knowledge, no researchers have ever seen or used Nellie's letters, which I have worked with for the last few months. They are rich in observations, comments and descriptions of her daily life.

A major theme which can be traced throughout the collection is the communication problem. As I mentioned earlier, there was a three-month period during which most mail could be sent or received, and letters are filled with comments like the one in Nellie's letter of August 15, 1898: "I have started numerous letters home but not one by a direct or reliable route."

The lack of communication possibilities certainly caused inconvenience; at times it must have also caused worry and heartache. On her way to Alaska, in June of 1892, Nellie sent this to the family: "One thing I musn't forget to write. Mr. Thornton says to tell you that if you hear stories about us coming to grief at the hands of the natives you don't need to believe them. The whalers take pleasure in making up such stories and newspaper men are always ready to print exciting news."

Unfortunately, Mr. Thornton's warnings did not quite apply to himself, as he was murdered by three Natives in August of 1893. That story has been thoroughly documented in several other publications. New material from Nellie's letters includes insights into Thornton's personality, and comments about his behavior. She described him on June 24, 1892 as not being of the "variety that takes advice," and a year later, on June 15, 1893, says of Thornton, "He is very queer about the way he forgets, he doesn't mean things appear different from what they are but he forgets very easily and fills in the places he forgets from his imagination. The effect of having been a newspaper reporter, I suppose."

Several letters tell stories about Thornton's fearful or stupid behavior, and one letter sent to Nellie's family by another missionary on October 13, 1893 stated: "I don't think you need have any cause for uneasiness about Mr. & Mrs. Lopp for we understand they are much thought of by the Eskimos and Mr. Thornton was not on account of his peculiar methods. . . . To a few who knew how matters stood, Mr. Thornton's murder was not a surprise."

Several years after the Thornton incident, when the Lopp family returned to the States for a year, a minister and his wife replaced them. Upon the Lopps' return to Alaska, they found there was trouble between the minister and the Natives, and over the next year's worth of letters the story evolved. According to Nellie's summary, written on July 30, 1897, the minister gave alcohol to some of the Natives and tried to "persuade one of the women to do wrong." From Nellie's account it is hard to be sure exactly how far the seduction went, since she writes about the whole incident in veiled terms, but it is clear that the man's life was in danger because the Natives had lost respect for him. "Whether or not they took the commandment [meaning the seventh commandment on adultery] for themselves, they thought they knew what a missionary ought to be." A postscript to her account says that she understood the whaling ships had taken down stories which were "exaggerated some and some all untrue -- the wicked things were pleased to get any excuse to run down a missionary."

The missionaries' role in Alaska is a subject which Nellie wrote about frequently. She described the day-to-day gains they made in winning converts and training Natives to go out and be missionaries themselves, and she wrote about the Sunday School services and the teaching tools they used, like an organ, a zoetrope and colored charts.

Occasionally, her letters reflected a personal struggle with the missionary's role. She wrote on June 15, 1893:

> One thing that troubles me when I think of these people becoming Christians is what to tell them they should or shouldn't do. They keep their own customs very carefully. . . . There are strict lines between right and wrong [the Eskimos] all agree on. But we can draw no such line for them. We don't agree among ourselves even. For instance in the keeping of Sunday. We [the Thorntons and the Lopps] have almost the extremes of opinions that Christians have of Sunday keeping.

Sometimes Nellie was confused about the best way to teach different concepts, as she noted on April 16, 1893:

> I am just home from Sunday School, where I have been telling the little Eskimos and some of their mothers how Saul couldn't be king anymore because he stole sheep. That sounds bad, I know, but if you knew how hard it is to explain to people who know so little about even the simplest things that they would need to understand the story of Saul's disobedience you wouldn't wonder. And he did steal, they didn't belong to him, and he took them. I might have said he disobeyed God, but I don't know any word for disobey. These people don't use such a word much. They have no government to obey, or Bible, and parents' orders, I think, are often on the order of, "Go to school, or, if you don't want to, go fishing."

One request Nellie mailed home on September 6, 1899 was particularly revealing:

> If someone gives you money again to buy something for me, I wish you would buy me a book on mission work. I mean the everyday work of some missionary who accomplishes something, his relations with individuals, what he did with the backslider who eloped with his neighbor's wife, and what he said to the woman who proudly said she was a Christian although she knew next to [nothing].

In general, though, Nellie was happy with her role as a teacher and missionary. I think she believed that she was where she belonged, doing the work she should be doing. In a letter to a sister on July 27, 1893 she wrote: "I am as near as possible to where I would have thought I wanted to be." Eight years later, on Arpil 25, 1901, she commented: "People often write us about what a great sacrifice we are making and all that . . . but I [don't] feel that way myself."

Whether she felt she was making a sacrifice or not, there is no denying that her life was hard, the days long and filled with many demands. Most of the letters make some reference to the many interruptions she had to contend with -- Natives coming to the door for medicine or to trade, children getting into scrapes, babies needing to be held or fed, mending to be done, and later, when the gold rush began, a stream of miners stopping in hoping to buy meals, to find room to stay overnight, to purchase supplies, and so on.

In 1900, her sister Frances came to help take care of the children so Nellie would be free to teach school again, and I am sure Nellie was delighted. About a year and a half earlier, on December 2, 1898, Nellie had written: "How I love to teach -- even in the smell with home-made shaky long benches and desks. And pupils with whom I have so little common language. Tom says I don't care so much for our own children when I am teaching. I know I ought to be there to cook dinner."

Many of the letters contain graphic descriptions of the school buildings and furnishings, of the daily routine and the subjects taught, and of the pupils' eagerness to learn. Nellie's brother Charlie also came to the Cape in 1900, as did her father, and when prospecting was done for the winter Charlie was given a position as a teacher in Tom and Nellie's school. In a letter home on October 8, 1900 Charlie wrote: "The average attendance of the week was 53+ each day . . . besides an average of 20 visitors per day. Ask Alice [another sister] if the relatives of her pupils show such an interest in the welfare of their children and relatives in school, as do the relations of my pupils."

Charlie described his classroom on October 9, 1900:

> Having from fifty to sixty people in the schoolroom most of the time makes the air very strong of smelling seal and deer skins but it is not nearly so strong as I had expected. From three to ten babies, of two to four years of age, are almost regularly brought to school by their older brothers and sisters.

School time was used to teach more than just subjects like English, reading and math. The missionaries hoped to introduce changes in behavior patterns and ways of life which would benefit the Eskimos. For instance, they believed that if the Eskimos learned to herd reindeer, this would help alleviate food shortages, so they tried to influence the Natives to change their habits and accept the deer. Shortly after she arrived at the Cape in 1892, in a letter of October of that year, Nellie sent her family a copy of a hectograph print used in teaching the Natives. There was a picture of a deer and some herders, and a text which was the Eskimo equivalent of Dick and Jane: "See the men and boys. What are they doing? They are herding deer. If all the men and boys sleep, the deer may run off. I like to look at a big herd of deer. The deer can draw a sled fast. I like deer meat and fat. Do you know how to herd deer? How many deer men or herders can you see? One, two, three. . . "

Another change which the missionaries strove for was to improve cleanliness among the Natives. For many years Nellie wrote of trying to get them to wash their clothes regularly, and finally a wash day was initiated, as she described on November 8, 1901:

> Friday is a great day with us. Wash day. . . . We wash out more dirt in a single day than most families wash out in years. . . . It is just what I like, a wash day, and the children seem to like it as well

> and bring more washing each week. The first time they did only their own and now they bring their older and younger relations' clothes. . . . Now and then an older relation comes in and worries around until he finds some garment of his that he heard went to the wash and after seeing it safe in a tub, goes off satisfied.

Even though she tried hard to change the Natives' behavior in some ways, Nellie was very concerned for the integrity of their culture. Several times she expressed her disagreement with the practice of sending Native children away to boarding school in the States. "I believe it unfits them more than it fits them for helping the other native," she wrote on September 28, 1897. A letter of September 16, 1899 stated: "Dr. Jackson sent me some letters written by Port Clarence girls at the Carlisle Indian school. I don't know what will become of them when they come back. They won't be satisfied to live like Eskimos again and they won't be able to live as they have at Carlisle."

This compassion and genuine concern for the Natives' welfare comes through clearly over and over again. She was especially distressed when the Natives were hungry. On April 9, 1899 she wrote:

> It is very hard to refuse to buy things they bring to buy food with. . . . They are valuable articles and the people who bring them are really hungry. I wish something could be done, the more we are acquainted with them, the worse it makes us feel to have them so. It hinders our work. Think of teaching the lesson about "hungry and ye fed me not" to a Sunday School class the members of which hadn't had half a dozen square meals since the Sunday before. And then going home to a good dinner without inviting the class.

As I said introduction of reindeer herding was one way the missionaries believed they could help combat the problem of hunger, and training of herders was considered an educational function of the mission along with the classroom work.

I would also like to briefly mention the gold rush. Although they did file on a few claims, Tom and Nellie's priority remained their teaching duties. A letter written on October 4, 1899 pretty well summarizes Nellie's attitude: "Isn't it funny to wonder whether we are going to get rich or not? I am not worried about it or excited a bit. I think I am in quite a proper frame of mind about it and hope to stay so. If there is valuable gold so near that we can have some without neglecting duties here, I think it was meant for us." She did remain in that frame of mind, which was just as well since the only money the Lopps made from the gold rush was the money Tom received for being appointed recorder for the mining district.

After reading over 200 of her letters, Nellie is a real person to me, and I feel like I know her. I would like to share a few comments about her personality. She was a great procrastinator -- she was sewing clothes for the first baby up to half an hour before it was born, and in one year she made five dresses for herself and wore all of them, except not one of them was completely finished yet. She was very honest. In a letter written on August 17, 1899, just after she had opened a box of presents from home, she wrote: "The box is splendid. The dresses for me pleased me the most of everything. (To be real unselfish I ought to have been more pleased with things for others of the family.)"

And she had a good sense of humor. Amusing anecdotes are sprinkled throughout the letters. My favorite one is this, written about sailors' practice of throwing possessions overboard to influence wind conditions, in a letter of July 7, 1896:

> The Captain told a story some time ago of a Captain who made an extra quick trip and so his employer made him a present of a suit of clothes. The next trip he didn't get a good wind and in desperation he threw the suit overboard. That didn't bring the wind so he threw over half a dollar. Then a gale came and he was provoked with himself, for he said a quarter would have brought just enough wind.

The Lopp-Kittredge letters contain a lot more material. Just about every letter has details about their children, and beginning in 1900 letters written by her father and sister discuss the gold rush activities of the York mining district. Nellie's letters also contain information about the reindeer herding program, about the problems they had with alcohol use by the Natives, and so on.

I have concentrated on letters from the ten-year period the family lived in Alaska. In 1902, they moved to Seattle. William Lopp went on to hold supervisory positions connected with education in Alaska and with the reindeer program, and letters written by him and many other family members continue into the 1920's.

I would like to acknowledge that through a fortunate coincidence I made contact with some of Nellie's daughters who still live in Seattle -- including three of them who were born in Alaska -- and they were able to provide transcripts for several hundred letters which were not in the original collection the Historical Society acquired. They also granted me an interview in which I learned details not available through the letters, and they have been very supportive of my project.

NOTES -- Engerman

1. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975).

2. A copy of the advertisement is in "Report on Education in Alaska," *in Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1890-91* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894), p. 924.

3. All the letters quoted from are in the Ellen Kittredge Lopp Collection at the Washington State Historical Society in Tacoma. As dates of the letters will be given in the text, further footnoting is unncessary.

EDUCATION AT CHRIST CHURCH MISSION, ANVIK: AN OUTPOST ON THE YUKON

Donna V. MacAlpine

The school at Christ Church Mission, Anvik, was never large, but the educational program there was in many ways remarkable. Students received a thorough training in basic academic subjects, extensive vocational training, appropriate religious education, and exposure to music and art. Their education was bilingual, even though this was the era of Sheldon Jackson, and there was also what we would today call community education. All this was due mainly to one man, John Wight Chapman, who spent forty-three years in Anvik. He went out as a missionary of the Episcopal Church, but his chief concern was for the welfare of the people. Although he never ceased to spread the gospel and build up the church, Chapman was a dedicated teacher who also served as postmaster, radio operator, dentist, doctor and doer of anything that needed to be done. He was also a scholar, recording much of the local culture and language, and contributing papers to anthropological journals for many years. In addition, he sent out from Anvik a constant stream of letters and articles to those back home, telling about his work and soliciting support for the mission and for the school which was established immediately upon his arrival. The story of education at Christ Church Mission is primarily the story of Dr. Chapman and his work.

The existence of Anvik, a pre-historic Athabaskan Indian village 450 miles upriver from the mouth of the Yukon River, was recorded early in the history of the interior. Andrey Glazunov, travelling overland from St. Michael in 1834, first saw the Yukon River at Anvik and recorded it in his journal. A few years later, Lt. Zagoskin passed through Anvik, noting the population and some details of the life of the people.

Captain Raymond, on the first steamboat up the Yukon in 1869, recorded that there was already a trader at Anvik. However, it was the establishment of Christ Church Mission at Anvik in July of 1887 that made Anvik an important outpost of contemporary "Outside" civilization.

The Rev. Octavius Parker and the Rev. John Wight Chapman, both sent forth by the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Episcopal Church, joined forces in St. Michael that summer and proceeded upriver to Anvik, where Parker had already purchased some buildings from a departed trader. During some years previous to that time, the welfare of the Native people of Alaska had been a matter of concern to many Christian groups in the United States. Spurred by tales of the exploitation and debauchery brought to Alaska by traders and whalers, they had urged that missionaries be sent to the North, and Parker and Chapman had both volunteered and had come separately to St. Michael, having no particular destination in mind. In St. Michael, Parker had been approached by a party of Indians from Anvik who asked him to come to their village, and so it was that the two men chose Anvik for the site of the first Episcopal mission in Alaska.

Arriving that July of 1887, they quickly settled into their quarters, which were a little over a mile up the Yukon from the village, located on a point at the mouth of the Anvik River. They found that the people of the village knew no English, but spoke their own Athabaskan language and a bit of Russian learned from the traders. These villagers lived most of the year in underground houses and had only recently given up their stone knives and axes for ones of steel acquired from their Eskimo neighbors, or later directly from the traders. Twenty-five years later, in an article written for the church publication Spirit of Missions, Chapman reflected:

> I suppose that when we began work here in 1887 there was hardly any portion of our country which had been so little affected by civilization. Half a dozen traders and missionaries were scattered along the course of a river two thousand miles long.

Parker and Chapman, however, were undaunted and set immediately about what they considered to be their most important tasks.

In his book, A Camp on the Yukon, which gives an account of his years in Anvik, Chapman writes:

> Our first task, as we conceived it, was to become sufficiently acquainted with the language of our Indian neighbors, and at the same time to acquaint them with sufficient English that we might gain an insight into their thoughts and so establish a means of mutual understanding.

And so a school was started, with instruction back and forth in both English and the Deg Hit'an language of the people, with Chapman often remarking that in the matter of learning a new language his students were much faster than he. Having already determined before coming that enlightenment was to be the key to helping the people, the men were prepared with school books and a large reading chart. With these, they transformed their dining and sitting room into the first schoolroom in Anvik. Children came up to school from the village, and before long several boys were actually living with Parker and Chapman so that they could attend school regularly. Thus both the day school and boarding school were soon begun.

During the first year, progress of the students who attended the school was noteworthy. Only a few months after his arrival, Chapman wrote in a letter home:

> Our school for the past week has been quite satisfactory. The attendance has been irregular, but we usually have half a dozen, and their interest does not flag, and I think it will not so long as ours does not. They are now familiar with the alphabet, and all count to ten, and part to twenty, and they are beginning to recognize words when they see them. I am giving them special drill upon memorizing English sentences, taking those from their reading lessons, and they are now beginning to understand the use of all the words in the following sentences.
>
> 1. The Dog ran.
> 2. The Cat is on the mat.
> 3. The man has a pen in his hand.

Chapman also reported that the children liked the drawing lessons and writes further:

> The drawing is most useful. We adopt Mr. Squeers' prin-

> ciple, and when a scholar has learned the name of a thing we have him make a rude outline drawing of it and print the name of it underneath; and this, all his own work, he takes home, and we take it for granted that the whole family will in time learn the names of such things, and that the scholars will learn by answering the questions of those at home.

With this good beginning, Chapman was already in the first year feeling the need of more room and more help, remarking in the same letter that they needed some means of teaching the boys handicrafts, and also that they needed some accomodation for girls and the "presence of a woman."

The emphasis that first winter was on the English language, and by the next spring Chapman reported that the children were able to hold conversations in English and to write school exercises in English. One of the day scholars, Robert, learned his English so well that forty years later, upon receiving a letter from him in Shageluk, Chapman noted that it was "clearly expressed in the style he had been taught" that first year at school. Another pupil, Isaac, also made excellent progress and became Chapman's chief interpreter, helping him translate the lessons from the reading chart and primer, and eventually also translating the offices of the prayer book and passages of scripture so that the village people could hear services in their own language. Isaac also helped Chapman with his study of the Deg Hit'an language, which he purused while his students were learning English, with the result that Chapman eventually spoke the local language fluently.

Attendance at the school increased over the first winter, and one day the following March Chapman recorded twenty-two students. To accomodate the increase, a school building was erected and school was soon moved down to a place across the mouth of the Anvik River from the village, making it easier for children to get to school. Chapman began to insist that the children speak the new language, and soon noted that it was used among the children even outside at play. Two years later, the studies had advanced so that when Chapman offered a copy of the First Reader to all who could read the first twenty-three lessons of Appleton's Chart, nine children qualified. He also had two boys who, as he put it, "are now well into fractions and are well grounded in the fundamental principles of arithmetic." He also reports a student who was diligently reading American History and the Bible, and Chapman himself was retelling to the boys a story by Sir Walter Scott.

Rev. Parker left the mission after two years, and Chapman continued alone with the work, all the time expanding his efforts. In 1890 he wrote home:

> I have started a class for adults in reading and writing Ingalik. The attempt to teach the adults English at this stage of the work would, I think, be a failure, but they seem pleased with the idea of writing their own language.

After six years, in the summer of 1893, Chapman left on furlough, much of which he spent raising funds and support for the expansion of the mission and school at Anvik.

When Chapman returned the next year to take up his work again, he brought with him three women: a teacher, a medical doctor and his new wife. The teacher, Deaconess Bertha Sabine, soon known to everyone as Sister Bertha, took charge of the girls, and the mission was expanded with the addition of a boarding school for girls. Dr. Glanton, in the two years she remained, provided medical services not just for the mission and the village but for many others in that part of the country, even travelling at one time all the way to Unalakleet by dogsled to minister to the trader there. Mrs. Chapman remained in Anvik with her husband for the next thirty-seven years, raising their family there, tending her gardens, and contributing many articles about the mission and village to various publications. And so the mission and school continued to expand.

During the years after the arrival of Sister Bertha, the number of children living at the mission increased rapidly. Children were frequently brought there for care after losing one or both parents, usually through disease. Apparently there was little effort on the part of the mission to recruit boarding students; they had all the students they could accomodate as the work of the school became known. One young woman came to them with her small baby, brought by her husband to learn English so that she could help him in his business as a trader. Sister Bertha, who wrote frequently for church publications, noted that in February of 1907 there were nineteen students in residence, and six years later she reported twenty-eight.

Sister Bertha firmly believed, as did Dr. Chapman, in the important work being done by the mission school. Her belief is well expressed in the following excerpt from an article entitled, "The Boys and Girls of Anvik and How the Church Helps Them to Live Better":

> Of the children now gathered in the house, some are half, some are wholly orphans; some are sent to us to keep them from the evil in their homes, and all are growing up with training in household duties and in Church and school-room teaching that will surely influence their whole future lives for good.
>
> School rooms are the hopeful, happy places of the missions.

It is Sister Bertha in her writings who gives the best picture of what life was like at the mission, where education took place not only in the schoolroom, but in all aspects of the students' lives. In an article entitled, "The Anvik School," written in 1907, she writes:

> All the girls have their own daily duties in the household according to their ages and capacities, that they may learn to care for their own households in future years; and the boys have their duties as well.

In several cases, young mothers were students at the mission, and their babies became an important part of the mission family and school. Sister Bertha writes further in the same article: "The Baby is one of the teachers. All the children are learning to care for him, to be gentle and thoughtful and to know how a baby ought to be cared for." Some years later, in another article, "A School on the Yukon," she writes this perhaps somewhat exaggerated account of the happy children in their daily routine:

> When the school bell rings morning and afternoon, everything gives way, and all the children . . . joyously

> start for the school room in the other house; later they return with equal joy, and each goes to next duty or to play. The older girls wash, iron, mend, make bread, and perform such like household tasks; the younger set, after play, have an hour's sewing lesson before supper.

Religious teaching, of course, played an important part in the school life. Every morning prayers were said, a hymn was sung and scripture read. Bible stories were frequently told to the children, and at a certain age the children were required to take special classes in the teachings of the church. However, this religious training was integrated with the other studies at school. For example, the children often practiced their English by writing their own versions of Bible stories, and some of their compositions were published in church magazines along with articles about the mission.

Both languages continued to play an important part at the mission. Sister Bertha writes of a young boy who grew up at the mission, and of his older brother who later joined him there. She remarks that the younger boy quickly became fluent in his own language by learning from his brother. In the same article she writes of the use of the two languages in the school:

> In the schoolroom we use the two languages more than for any previous year for a long time, and part of the daily work is reciting the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, and General Confession in Ingalik, and the Catechism in English.

This is particularly interesting to note, since in many mission schools at that time Native languages were completely forbidden.

Mission personnel writing at this time about their school do not give many specific details of the actual subjects taught or of books used, but upon inquiry the Rev. Henry Chapman, son of John W. Chapman and himself a student at the mission school, has supplied the following information:

> In general, the aim of the mission school was to teach the basics -- reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as the Christian faith. For reading we used the old McGuffey series, which I believe are unsurpassed by any modern textbooks. There was also a chart, with large print, for teaching phonics and short sentences like: "The cat is on the mat." We were thoroughly drilled in phonics. The only other textbook I remember by name

> was Greene's Short History of England. . . . Around the room were several colored picture charts illustrating stories from the Bible. On one wall was a chart of the multiplication table, which we were required to memorize. Besides the three R's, we studied geography and American and English history.

Apparently, although few students advanced beyond the sixth grade level, and although the scope of classroom education was somewhat limited, the education received was thorough and well remembered.

The support of the mission during these years was a constant problem. There was always too little room, too small a staff, and the never-ending struggle to provide adequate food and clothing for the boarding students, most of whom had little or nothing paid on their behalf by their families. In 1907, in an article entitled "Christ Church Mission, Anvik," Dr. Chapman wrote:

> We are striving toward a measure of self support. Our gardens, this year, will yield about one hundred pounds of vegetables for every scholar. We also put up about twelve hundred pounds of dried and smoked salmon. Last year our cow yielded us more than two tons of milk. We are planning to increase our herd and to keep poultry.

An article a few years later, "The Diminishing Support of Anvik School," by an unnamed author, gives some details of the outside support which was always necessary:

> The Board of Missions provides the salaries of the teachers and a "supply fund" of $750 a year. For all other running expenses Bishop Rowe and Mr. Chapman have been depending upon "specials." For a number of years, especially when the school was new, the income was steady and sufficient. Now that Anvik school is an old story there seems to be an unfortunate loss of interest.

And so there was the increasing worry of obtaining the necessary outside support as well.

Yet Chapman, although sometimes discouraged in trying to meet the constant daily needs, and in trying to obtain more and better housing and more teachers, continued with hopes and plans for the future. In July of 1915 he wrote:

> Our work is, however, educational. . . . For satisfactory work in this direction, we should have a good mission staff and good buildings. We have neither. . . .

> We have not yet taken a broad enough view of our responsibilities. We ought to establish an educational center with a strong and permanent staff. So far we have not done it. . . .
>
> A layman is needed. One who can teach if necessary. . . . Such a layman should be a man of varied accomplishments. He should be a good deal of a carpenter, and should know something about iron work -- welding, forging and tempering. He should be able to instruct the boys and young men in these things, as well as to look out for the gardens and fishing.

And Chapman goes on to write of the need for more music education for the whole village and of the great possibilities with such things as lantern slides, not just for entertainment but for "popular instruction" for the community.

It was during this same period of the mission's history that the area witnessed the great influx of Europeans into interior Alaska. The Yukon had turned into a busy highway, with a constant stream of travellers, many of them gold seekers either on their way to the reputed riches of the North or making their way back whence they had come. Many of these travellers stopped by Anvik to visit the mission, some of them wintered in the area, and a few remained behind to make their homes there. Although there were many accompanying bad influences, there was good also brought to the people of the area. Twenty-five years after his arrival in Anvik, Dr. Chapman reflected:

> In some ways intercourse with the whites has done our people good. They are better laborers, understand better the character of a contract, are cleaner and less superstitious -- especially the younger generation -- and are enabled to live in greater comfort than formerly.

In spite of the changes taking place in the area, the school remained the focus of the mission, and the aim of the school remained the same. As Sister Bertha put it, the mission students were "under training for a more useful life, and a wider outlook than they could receive in their own homes."

Despite the good being accomplished and all the high aspirations for the future, it seems Anvik Mission School was not destined to grow further. During the decade from 1920 to 1930, the resident student population remained the same, and the staff was not notably increased. Sister Bertha departed, and several teachers and house-mothers came and went. In 1927, there was a severe epidemic of influenza which caused many deaths in Anvik, in some cases wiping out whole families. From this the mission children and staff were for the most part spared by strict quarantine and the availability of medicine, but the population of the village and the number of students in the day school diminished noticeably.

The school room routine during this time varied little from former years -- the basics were carefully taught, there were morning prayers, Bible stories and scriptures, singing, household chores and sewing lessons for the girls, outside chores for the boys, and there always seemed to be at least one baby to care for. One of the teachers at this time had special artistic talents, so there was much drawing and a special exhibition of art work at the school. Although church services were still held in the Native language, the children now spoke mostly English, and in that language were required to memorize long passages of prose which they apparently did very well, according to one of their teachers. Another teacher was impressed by the children's love of nature and remarkable knowledge of the outdoors. And so the educational program at Anvik continued.

Living in Anvik and in the surrounding area today are quite a few of the former "mission girls," and also some who were day students at the mission. Their memories of school are basically happy ones. Indeed, both the personnel who wrote about life at Anvik Mission School at that time, and the former students looking back, seem to regard it more as a large, happy family than as an institution. Perhaps this is because the staff under Dr. Chapman's direction made every effort to train the children for better lives without cutting them off completely from their own families and culture, and by taking what was good from the local traditional culture and making use of it.

According to former students, children at Anvik mission had a lot of freedom, especially compared to other boarding schools of the day. Parents were not only allowed to visit, something often forbidden in other schools, but were allowed to take their children on trips and visits. Children themselves could go about in the village on their own, go for walks, go skating and skiing in winter, and even go hunting as long as they had permission and did not go too far. If they wanted to go along the hills or to some farther point, there was usually someone from the staff to accompany them. Sometimes children were taken by the staff to village functions, even on occasion being allowed to watch the traditional dancing in the kashim. Among former students are also happy memories of berry-picking expeditions in the fall when students, staff, and some of the village women would go upriver and climb a certain mountain where they camped for several days. This freedom of activity helped keep the boarding students from feeling closed in or separated too much from their own people, and most of them were content.

Training at the mission, as already mentioned, was not all done in the classroom. The children all had household duties in which they were carefully supervised. All chores were inspected, and students still remember having to do a certain chore over again until it was done just right. The girls were trained to have meals on time, to keep everything very clean and tidy, and to keep themselves personally well-groomed. They were so well trained that these traits are still noticeable today in the homes of former mission students. Children were also trained to be seen and not heard, as was the custom of the day. One student also explained how the children were taught to be good to each other, this teaching being strengthened by the example set by the staff at the mission.

Traditional skills were also important. One former student reported how surprised and pleased her father was when she returned home to Bonasila and showed him how she had learned to cut dog fish while at school. Younger children often learned skills from older students, many of the girls learning to do fine beadwork and skin sewing from girls who came to the mission after they had already learned these skills at home. Sometimes traditional ways of gathering or preparing foods were taught to the mission staff by village people or by older students, and thus the old and new were mixed together.

Another factor contributing to the happy memories of mission life is the apparent genuine interest the staff had in the children under their charge. They really seemed to care for the children, and the children in turn often became very fond of their house-mothers and teachers. Students seemed to realize that although the staff members were strict, they really wanted to help the children learn. One present-day Anvik grandmother holds one of her teachers in high regard because, as she explains, "She never got tired of telling us what was what."

Of course, there were complaints. The chores were tedious, and no one liked to have to do them over. The girls and boys were not allowed to socialize and received little preparation for married life. Matches were sometimes made for the girls by the mission staff, or sometimes a man would come and ask for a mission girl for his wife, and his suitability was judged by the mission staff. In looking back, some former students say they wished they had been able to learn more, especially about math and about the outside world. Yet the education received, however imperfect, did, in encompassing both the old and new, help the children deal with the changes which were happening all around them, and with greater changes yet to come.

After the big influenza epidemic of 1927, most of the Anvik families who were left moved away and established another village several miles down the river. There were, therefore, very few day students. Also, funds for the boarding school had continued to dwindle. John Chapman and his wife left Anvik in 1930, forty-three years after the mission had been established, and although their son, Henry, and his wife, Susan, a former mission teacher, took over, the bishop finally decided to close the boarding school. This happened in 1935. Henry Chapman and his wife stayed on, however, and taught the few remaining day students, who at one time numbered only four. Gradually, over the next ten years people moved back from Lower Village, and the number in the school grew again until there were twenty or more. In

September, 1946, the first territorial school in Anvik opened, and the days of Anvik Mission School were over.

What influence did this small school, this outpost in the wilderness, have? As one of the former mission girls puts it: "Without it we wouldn't know anything." In looking back, Rev. Henry Chapman writes: "The success of the mission school can best be measured in terms of the human lives that were touched and influenced by the school." He then cites examples of mission boys who served in the First and Second World Wars, a nurse's aide who bravely served in the hospital at Dutch Harbor when it was bombed by the Japanese, a woman from Anvik now living in Anchorage who has worked for many years serving the church, and one Shageluk girl who was elected Alaska Mother of the Year some twenty years ago. These, of course, were some of the special students. Almost everyone in some way achieved a better life because of the years spent at Anvik mission school, and thus Dr. Chapman's purpose was fulfilled. And the influence did not stop with the students themselves. Many of them have passed on to their children and grandchildren not only their Christian faith but their respect for knowledge and education, a fitting tribute to Dr. John Chapman and his dedicated staff at Christ Church Mission School in Anvik.

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"SEND US A MAN" -- THE INDEPENDENCE MINE TERRITORIAL SCHOOL

Stephanie Stirling

It isn't every mining camp that sends out a petition requesting a man, especially when there were already several hundred in camp. But the people at Independence mine were requesting a special type of man -- they wanted a teacher. It had been a long and hard road for the mining camp to reach this point.

Prospecting had been going on in the region prior to the turn of the century, with the first lode gold claim staked in the area in 1906 by Robert Hatcher at what would become the Alaska Free Gold Mine. Another claim was located nearby, and in 1908 the Independence mine opened. The mine is part of the Willow Creek mining district, located on the southern slopes of the Talkeetna Mountains. The mine is located twenty-three miles by road from Wasilla and twenty-one miles by road from Palmer.

The Independence and Alaska Free Gold mines operated sporadically during the early twentieth century. By 1936, a corporation known as Alaska Pacific Mines, Inc. leased both properties. In 1936 the company brought in W. W. Stoll as general manager and began a program of development for a camp at the mine site. In 1937, the company began an extensive building program to house the number of workers that they were planning to employ. During this year, a bunkhouse/messhall building, an apartment house, and a new mill were constructed. The addition of a new bunkhouse with sleeping quarters for fifty-four men, as well as additions and improvements on a number of other structures on the site, came in 1938.

Of course, the reason for all the construction activity was the mining of gold, and the Independence was profitable. During 1939, the company mined $851,729.00 worth of gold. During 1941, its peak year, Alaska Pacific Consolidated produced 48,194 ounces of gold worth $1,686,790.00.

The work of the miners was not easy, but Independence was known for its fine accommodations and good food, the best anywhere in the area. The management tried to keep the workers as satisfied as possible. One way in which the company did this was by allowing miners with families to build homes on company land. These houses, which were known as Boom Town, or Independence Village, were built out of whatever scrap materials were available, including old dynamite boxes and leftover lumber from camp construction. Although some dwellings were little more than shacks, others were quite nice and provided comfortable housing for the miners and their families. By 1940, over thirty residences had been built.

The company provided other amenities for the families, including a company store. Unlike the image one has of miners being saddled with an endless debt to the company, this store provided goods to the miners and their families at a nominal 5% mark-up to cover costs. The store was strictly non-profit: of $36,000.00 worth of business conducted in 1941, only a $247.00 profit was realized. The children of the miners enjoyed hanging around the store in the hopes that someone might buy them some candy -- all of this much to their parents' displeasure. The company also allowed the miners' wives to buy fresh bread and meat from the company messhall.

By 1939, the Independence camp had expanded to include the manager's house, a combination warehouse/bunkhouse (under construction), an office and store building, the messhall, which also doubled as a bunkhouse, and a bunkhouse for fifty men.

By this time, the camp had grown to such a size that fourteen couples signed a petition, dated June 28, 1939, requesting that a school be established at Independence Village. In situations where there were between six and twelve students, the Territorial Commissioner of Education was authorized to establish a special school if the community would provide the building, fuel, lights, and quarters for the teacher. The camp had finally gathered sufficient students to qualify, and on July 5 the Commissioner informed the petitioners that a school would be established.

The company acceded to the request for room, planning to use the auditorium in the new bunkhouse/warehouse building. Room and board would be provided for the teacher at a cost of $35.00 a month. The mine management had a condition in return for the Commissioner of Education. As Mrs. H. N. Fowler, the secretary of the "school board," put it, "In as much as it is contrary to company policy to permit single women in camp, and due to the fact that all of the children of school age are boys and that in some cases rigid discipline may be necessary, we ask that you send us a man for a teacher."[1]

Prior to the establishment of the school, the students in camp were taught by their parents using correspondence courses, although a few had already had some formal schooling in other communities. The correspondence teaching had limited success, as one student recalls: "The first year mother taught me by correspondence and it didn't work out very well. Because if I could make her angry enough, I didn't have to go to school that day."[2]

The Commissioner began planning for the school. Telegrams were sent to prospective teachers and a full complement of school supplies were ordered from Seattle -- everything from pencils to chalk to waste baskets. The books ordered included those necessary for coursework in arithmetic, geography, history, health, science, language arts, penmanship, and spelling.

The news that a school would indeed be established was welcomed by the residents of the mining camp. In the words of Mrs. Fowler:

> This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 29th. Its contents are the cause of great rejoicing in camp. We can in no way begin to tell you how we appreciate your interest and prompt and whole-hearted cooperation in this matter. . . . When, and to whom, will the school furniture be shipped? When will our teacher arrive? Who is he? Forgive such an incoherent letter -- particularly one fairly bristling with questions -- but we are all so delighted about "our school" that no one can talk about much else. We sincerely hope that

> you can pay us a visit early this fall, and are looking forward to the pleasure of meeting you.[3]

Jim Busey, who had previously taught for the territorial school system in McGrath, was offered the Independence post, which he accepted. Busey was to receive $1,980.00 for the school year -- $220.00 a month for nine months. This compared with a wage for miners of $140.00-$180.00 a month, which included board but also required a seven-day work week.

One of the chronic problems facing the mine management at Independence was the distance from sources of supply, and the school was no different. School was scheduled to begin in early September, but there were problems. The lumber for the warehouse building which would house the school was delayed because the freighter DePere had been involved in an accident. Since the building could not be completed before the 10th of September, school had to be delayed, with the time being made up on weekends.

There were also the usual problems with daily supplies Both the distance, and later the snow, slowed their delivery. Only half of the needed supplies had arrived by the time school was scheduled to start. In spite of these problems, school did start in mid-September. A few weeks later, Busey was able to write the Commissioner:

> Everything else goes quite nicely. The school is housed in a very cozy and convenient room in a brand new building. We had to wait a week before the room was ready, but now all is in order. The only supplies that have not come are the teacher's desk and wall maps. Though we have no books for the third and first grades, I have managed quite well through a combination of improvisation and use of other books. I suppose these additional supplies, about which I wrote earlier, will be coming through before long.[4]

Busey's optimism was a bit premature -- the desks didn't arrive until late December.

Children had, of course, lots of other opportunities for entertainment in the camp aside from school. There were plenty of pets, including a horse, ice skating and skiing in the winter and, of course, always time for a game of baseball in the summer.

Among the most popular activities was exploring in the surrounding hills and foraging for berries. Most recall it as a good time. As Dorothy Lynch Surgenor recalls: "I liked it. I didn't know anything else. Also I think it was good because you had to maintain some sort of relationship with your friends there or otherwise you didn't have any."[5]

The company did what it could to make life easier for the families, and provided Christmas presents to the children and supplies for events like Halloween parties.

Busey also enjoyed the cooperation and support of the parents in the camp. A collection was taken at Christmas time and used to purchase over forty books for the school library. Busey managed to also teach night classes for the adults, including Spanish and economics. The school room was also used for other classes. Geologists from the University of Alaska in Fairbanks taught courses in mineralogy for the miners to help them in prospecting and the identification of ore veins, and the Reverend Bingle held Sunday School classes at least once a month.

There was one problem with the Independence school -- it was located in the bunkhouse, with night-shift miners sleeping all day. No singing was allowed, no musical instruments or loud noises were permitted, and no playing was allowed in the vicinity of the building. For this reason, Busey suggested that a separate school building be erected, but, all in all, the school year went well. Since he was a certified high school teacher, he applied for, and go, a high school position at Kodiak and left Independence after his first year.

Busey's successor was William Brown, who had previously worked for the Territorial School Board in other Alaska locations. For the 1940-1941 school year, the territorial school was moved to a new bunkhouse that was constructed during the summer of 1940. The company hoped that this would be more suitable, for although there would still be miners sleeping during the school day, at least they would be upstairs and not directly across the hall. In addition, the room was more adequately heated and ventilated.

Brown wasn't happy with the new location, or with life in the mining camp. On November 17, 1940, he wrote the Commissioner regarding his working conditions:

> At the present time we are in a theater part of one of the bunk houses. The room is about 14 x 45 x 12 high and is lighted on the North side only; the heating of the room is controlled in another part of the building by every Tom, Dick, and Harry, and is being constantly tampered with. There is a great deal of noise about the mill; workmen are coming and going on shift at regular intervals. In fact, there is very little privacy for the school or anyone about the place. We are subject to all the epidemics and colds that seem to be constantly about the place.[6]

Brown began a campaign, with the support and assistance of the mine management, for a separate school building to be built at Independence. Despite lobbying efforts on everyone's part, including a petition by twenty-seven wives of mine workers, the Territorial Board of Education turned down the request for a school. Board policy restricted school construction to those communities with more than fifteen pupils and those which were regarded as permanent. With the rapid growth occurring in Alaska due to military construction activities, the Board had far more requests than it could possibly fill. The mining company was supportive of the efforts to obtain a school building, and offered to furnish the building site, water, electricity and fuel. The company also offered to defray $800.00 of the estimated $3,000.00 to $4,000.00 cost of the building. Despite these offers, the Board remained firm in its denial of a school.

Events showed the Territorial Board of Education to be correct in its apprehension that Independence was not a permanent community. By 1940, workers had begun leaving the mine operation to take high-paying positions on the military construction projects in Fairbanks and Anchorage. When war was declared in December of 1941, a large number of miners left to enlist in the Armed Forces. Those that remained formed a unit of the Territorial Guard.

Independence mine was ordered closed by the War Production Board in October, 1942 as a non-essential industry The company managed to negotiate an extension because it also produced scheelite, an ore used to make tungsten which was necessary for the production of tool steel. The school continued to operate, with eight students in attendance. Unfortunately, records for this school year have not been located.

Time ran out for the mine. In the fall of 1943, the War Production Board determined that the scheelite was not of sufficient quantity or quality to keep the mine open, and it was ordered to cease operations. And with the closure of the mine came the closure of the Independence mine Territorial School.

The mine reopened briefly following the war, in 1946, and again from 1949 to 1951. Despite the best efforts of the management, the mine was not profitable. It cost $45.00 an ounce to produce ore that could only be sold for $35.00 an ounce. Although a roster indicates there were twenty-six pupils in 1949-1950, and fifteen in 1950-1951, no other records or information on the school or its operations during this period have been located.

The buildings that once housed the Independence mine Territorial School still stand on site in Hatcher Pass, along with the assay office, new mess hall, manager's house, store, and the remains of the mill, as well as the bunkhouses. The site was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1974. In 1980, Starkey Wilson donated 271 acres of the site, including the buildings, to the State of Alaska for the purpose of establishing a state historic park. In return, Wilson was allowed to begin development work on the underground tunnels.

Preliminary historical and architectural research, and protection work on the buildings, was begun in 1980, funded by a grant from the National Park Service. In 1981, the Alaska legislature appropriated the first state funds for the restoration project. The manager's house was acquired and has been rehabilitated into a park visitor center. This building also houses interpretive displays that detail the history of the mine. The assay office is in the process of being restored, and plans are being developed for the preservation work on the other buildings.

Independence mine provides us with the opportunity to see what a hard rock mining camp looked like, and to understand what life was like for those who lived and worked there. And for the children of Independence Village, the Independence mine Territorial School -- housed in a bunkhouse surrounded by sleeping miners -- formed a large part of their lives. By knowing them, we know a bit more about ourselves.

NOTES -- Stirling

1. Mrs. H. N. Fowler to Superintendent of Schools, July 21, 1939, School District Correspondence, 1916-1941, Commissioner's Office, Department of Education, Alaska State Archives.

2. Interview with Dorothy Lynch Surgenor conducted by Kathryn Koutsky Cohen in Seattle, Washington, December, 1981.

3. Mrs. H. N. Fowler to Anthony E. Karnes, Commissioner of Education, August 3, 1939, School District Correspondence, 1916-1941, Commissioner's Office, Department of Education, Alaska State Archives.

4. James Bussey to Anthony E. Karnes, Commissioner of Education, September 17, 1939, ibid.

5. Interview with Dorothy Lynch Surgenor conducted by Kathryn Koutsky Cohen in Seattle, Washington, December, 1981.

6. William Brown to Anthony E. Karnes, Commissioner of Education, School District Correspondence, 1916-1941, Commissioner's Office, Department of Education, Alaska State Archives.

INDEPENDENCE MINE. Photo from Russ Dow Collection, Alaska State Parks.

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DOROTHY LYNCH, JUST WEST OF THE 4-PLEX, JULY, 1938. Photo from Dorothy Lynch Surgenor Collection, Alaska State Parks.

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ALASKA EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS IN ACTION AT EAGLE, ALASKA, 1901-1981

Elva R. Scott

Eagle on the Yukon has a most interesting rural school history, especially when viewed within the context of the Alaska School History. For over forty years, two separate schools were maintained in Eagle and administered by a variety of systems. Fortunately, not only the school buildings remain, but the school records have been kept intact over those years and relate many educational, social and economic events of both communities.

Historically, all was quiet in the Eagle area until the gold miners started flocking north in the late 1890's. In 1897, the federal government received reports of miners starving on the Upper Yukon and directed Captain Ray and Lieutenant Richardson to proceed to the area and report on the conditions. After their investigation, Ray and Richardson recommended that an army post be established near the boundary of Alaska and Canada, selecting a site by Mission Creek. Hearing of this, some discontented American Klondike gold miners established Eagle City in May, 1898 on the site, and laid out lots to sell which attracted gold miners from the Dawson area. Businesses were soon booming, a Chamber of Commerce organized and a municipal government formed. In June, a company of infantry soldiers arrived to begin the building of Fort Egbert adjacent to the new city.

In June, 1900, Eagle City was chosen as the headquarters for the newly formed Third Judicial District Court. Judge Wickersham and members of his court arrived, bringing their families -- including children -- with them. The influence of these persons must have accelerated the eighty-six petition signers to apply for City Incorporation in November, 1900, and vote on it in January, 1901. During this election, the thirty-three voters elected city council members as well as school board members. The school board members carried out their charge by hiring a local teacher for $100.00 a month, purchasing a few books and supplies and opening the first school in September, 1901, with seven white students in a rented building.

The Civil Code Act of June, 1900, not only established the court in Eagle, but also created taxation through trade and business licenses. Fifty percent of the monies collected by the federal government for licenses within the municipality was to be used for financing schools within these municipalities. In 1901, there were surplus funds with which to build a new school on the forty-acre school reserve. The second year, the school opened in the new building with the enrollment leveling out at ten to twelve white students from Eagle City and Fort Egbert. There were no federal regulations or standards, truly an independent school district. In spite of the remote location, difficult travel and limited accomodations, there appears to have been few problems in recruiting teachers from the Northwest, usually Oregon, who remained in Eagle City for two years.

During this early period, Dr. Sheldon Jackson had been appointed the responsibility of establishing schools for Alaskan children with very limited funds. He had anticipated that the municipal schools being organized would include Native students, but this was not the case. The Indians living at Eagle Village, three miles upriver from Eagle City, had no school in the village, nor did their children attend school in the city. In these days the churches filled many of the educational, medical and welfare needs of Alaska residents. Bishop Rowe of the Episcopal Church noted the lack of educational opportunities at the village and sent Mr. Boulter, a lay reader and teacher, to Eagle Village in 1905. He held school in the village chapel for four years, and all ages attended together, infants through adults. His main emphasis was on teaching English, Christian education and music. The villagers still remember this as a happy time, in spite of much physical misery; tuberculosis was rampant in their village, and other deadly epidemics continued to sweep through the village, causing much havoc. By working with Dr. Jackson, monies were obtained and Mr. Boulter started building a log school at the village on property deeded to the government by the Episcopal Church. In 1909, the first Bureau of Education teacher was sent to Eagle Village, and Mr. Bouiter was promoted to Superintendent of the Upper Yukon for the bureau. Mr. Nichols had his hands full, starting school classes while finishing the school construction, and he is still remembered as Walter, the builder. Classes were established for school-age and older pre-school children, adult classes in the evening, gardening all summer. He also assisted with Sunday School and Church on Sundays and was on sick call twenty-four hours a day. The Bureau of Education teacher was the only non-Indian resident in the village, and his responsibility was to educate the entire village with few supplies and fewer guidelines.

New teachers arrived at the village every year or two, and their reports gave more attention to the medical conditions in the village than to educational progress. They all indicated a prevalence of tuberculosis, syphilis and scrofula which caused the draining neck abscesses on the children. One teacher reported: "Unless some means is found to stop the progress of this disease [tuberculosis], this village will be wiped out."

Discovery of the wireless in 1908 made the Valdez-Eagle telegraph line obsolete, and the services of the U.S. Army were no longer needed. Fort Egbert was abandoned in 1911, leaving only three Signal Corps men in Eagle. When the infantry company and all the support personnel moved to Tanana, there were only two school-age children left in the city, and their school was closed from 1912-1916. The village teacher reported that the town of Eagle was but a relic of the past, and the Indians now had great difficulty in disposing of their meat and fancy work, thus greatly reducing their income. The army doctor used to assist the teacher with the medical care of the villagers, and the army used to loan the village horses and a plow to use in the gardens.

Prohibition in the United States has been blamed for many things. Prohibition in Alaska has at least one thing to its credit. It was responsible for the removal of many educational restrictions which had been placed on the territorial legislature, thus making it possible for that body to enact legislation establishing schools and appropriating money for their support. No small part of the funds derived by Alaska towns for the support of schools and general municipal expenses had come from saloon licenses. The cutting off of this revenue was bound to play havoc with both schools and municipal governments, which it did in Eagle City. The Alaska legislative body soon went into action and passed the Uniform School Act, which provided that 75% of the cost of maintenance of schools in incorporated towns should be paid from the territorial treasury, the balance to be assumed by the incorporated towns.

So, in 1917, Eagle City was back in the school business with adequate enrollment plus financial support. As permitted by the Uniform School Act, the Town of Eagle passed an ordinance to tax real property in the town for school and municipal purposes; thus, city funds were available to cover the required 25% of the school operational costs. Along with the financial support came the first supervision of the operation of the school. New roofing was put on the school, a flag pole erected and school was again opened with eleven students. Teachers remained for one or two years. One teacher gave a clue to the short teachers' tenure when she wrote: "One sort of petrifies in a place like this. It's just a trifle like Sleepy Hollow."

The economic condition of the Natives was greatly affected by World War I. The prices for furs fell far below normal, while the cost of food, clothing and manufactured imported articles increased 300%. The organized air routes in Alaska in the early 1930's provided some relief for the teachers, as did the radio service operated by the Army and Navy, but the teachers still remained the community leaders, arbitrators of disputes, censors of morals, preservers of peace, public nurses and medical advisors.

A single woman teacher, Ole Hansen, came to the village in 1925 and remained for thirteen years, leaving a deep impact on the village. She seemed to have the special ability to make a game out of required work and had the students' full interest and cooperation. She also set excellent examples. After leaving the teacher's position, this teacher remained in Eagle City, where the Indians always visited her and kept her informed about the village activities. She continued to help them in many ways. When there were problems in the village, she would quietly say, "Oh, how I wish I could have taught them more."

In 1931, the transfer of schools to the Indian Service allowed all Native American education programs to be channeled through a single agency. A new course of study was started, teachers' qualifications were upgraded and so was their salary. In 1945, the Office of Indian Affairs stated that their appropriation had been cut and abruptly closed the Eagle Village School, even though there were adequate enrollment and facilities. It remained closed until 1953, which meant the end of education for most of the students. For this reason there are adults at the village today whose education ended at the fourth grade or lower.

In 1934, Eagle City began to have enrollment problems again. In trying to keep their enrollment up to six, it was necessary to find teachers with school-age children to swell the enrollment numbers. Teachers were replaced, and Anne Hobbs Hansen of Tisha fame returned with four of her adopted children and remained several years. In 1939, the territorial legislature passed a new law making it compulsory for incorporated towns in the Fourth Division to pay a yearly salary to the teachers of $2,100.00. Eagle responded that it would be considerably embarrassed to meet this demand, as the population was small and taxes hard to collect. They asked the teacher to again include janitorial work in her salary. With the decrease in school-age children and the increase in cost of school operation, the Eagle City school was closed for four years. More families arrived with school children, and the school was operated from 1945 to 1955 in the city. In 1955 it closed its doors for the last time, due to lack of students.

During this see-saw period, of first the village school and then the city school being closed, there were no records to indicate that the population of one area used the school of the other area. One of the Indian families remembers making an effort to send their children to the Eagle City School, which required them to have a clear health certificate, walk the three miles both ways and the missionary to provide their lunches. At best, their attendance was erratic, and no record of their attendance remains.

With the city population continuing to shrink, the Bureau of Indian Affairs could no longer shirk its responsibility for education, and the school was reopened in Eagle Village in 1953 with nineteen students. In 1964, the BIA built a new school at the village with one large classroom, school kitchen and teacher's residence. The money which the Indians earned while working on the school building created a major drinking problem within the village, which meant the school children missed much school. When they did attend they were inattentive due to hunger and fatigue. The teacher was instrumental in getting the city to withdraw the liquor license, making liquor available only via road or air.

Statehood for Alaska in 1959 had a significant influence on the structure of local school districts, but little on the development of programs for rural education. The state constitution required the legislature to establish and maintain a system of public schools open to all children of the state. The two components of the dual system of rural education were still far apart, and a satisfactory plan for merging them into a single system had not emerged.

In 1965, increased attention was given to rural education, and the State Department of Education was reorganized. A Division of State Operated Schools was established, of which Eagle became a part when the new BIA school in the Indian village was transferred to the State of Alaska in 1967, thus ending Eagle's dual school system. It continued to be a one-room, one-teacher school for grades 1-8, with opportunities to continue with a secondary education by taking a correspondence program at home or attending a state operated regional high school or a boarding home program in an urban community of their choice. The Native students could also attend BIA high schools in Oregon, Oklahoma or Alaska.

Secondary education for rural students was one of the concerns of the state operated schools, and in 1966 the state contracted for an in-depth study of the subject. It was found that the true prolem was much broader than simply providing a good high school for all rural Alaskans. The fact of the matter was that many of the educational problems of rural Alaskan youth begin long before high school and may be beyond the capacity of even the best possible high school to remedy. As early as six or seven years, a child from a culturally disadvantaged environment may have acquired a sufficient handicap so that he can never catch up to a child of comparable innate ability from a more advantaged environment. One socio-economic aspect of rural schools which cannot be ignored is that they tend to concentrate and anchor a population. The elementary schools which exist have already concentrated rural people into small, economically nonviable villages were it is not possible in the foreseeable future for these persons to earn a living income. The permanence and size of the village, on the other hand, do not allow the village to exist solely by the traditional subsistence hunting and fishing methods. Consequently, many of these villages are forced to exist on a welfare economy, which in itself tends to produce a "poverty culture." This, in turn, produces a culturally disadvantaged environment which is not conducive to educational achievement. The study resulted in presenting five alternative secondary educational systems for rural Alaska, giving their benefits, liabilities and cost as well as ranking them in order of the maximum benefit of each. Following this study, the Division of State Operated Schools developed small and large regional high schools and urban boarding home programs.

While changes were being sought to improve the rural education, it was suddenly taken out of the educators hands and specific changes were mandated by law, mainly by the "Molly Hootch" decree. This lawsuit, filed in 1972 and settled out of court in 1976, called for construction of high schools in villages with eight or more high-school-age children, which ironically was the system with the least educational benefits of all five systems studied. The village high school was not supported by many village students who felt that they would be denied opportunities enjoyed by their older brothers and sisters. Some Native leaders and village teachers were highly skeptical of the educational potential of the village school concept at a time when highly trained Natives were badly needed.

Due to pressure for more local control, the state legislature abolished the State Operated Schools system in 1975 and set up a process for establishing twenty-one Regional Educational Attendance Areas which became school districts in 1977. Eagle became a part of the Gateway REAA, whose headquarters were located in Tok. Regional boards were elected for each REAA, to be aided by community advisory shcool committees. The decree became effective in Eagle in 1976, when two high school teachers were hired for thirteen students in grades 8-10, holding school first in their private residences and later in the remodeled courthouse. The teacher described the year as a "winter of problems." During the summer, the original BIA school building was remodeled, making four classrooms, and school opened with five certified teachers and a secretary for thirty-seven students. Then the state building program hit Eagle, and in 1979 the expensive multipurpose building was added to the school complex. Major repairs have been required annually. The average cost per student per year in the Gateway REAA was $4,231.00 in 1976 and $6,249.00 in 1979, three times the national average. During the years 1976-1981, an average of eleven students in the Eagle area have chosen to take correspondence study at home rather than attend the school.

What has been the success of the small village high school in Eagle, where the enrollment is half Native and half Caucasian? It did hold the marginal students, where regular attendance is not a major issue and the students are given much individual freedom. Social and emotional problems exist among the students, many problems similar to those described in the studies of the regional high schools. A psychologist was avialable to the school, but referrals were not made. Seniors graduated, but how can one judge the value of the diploma when the school caters to the student's interests and inclinations, which are determined by his environment? Did it prepare the student to enter the main stream of American society? Of the graduating seniors, none have made a successful transition to college or to regular employment outside of Eagle; two tried, but both returned. The academically-inclined students at Eagle have either moved to larger communities or have taken the correspondence program. The statewide study, "Native College Success in the '70's," has also indicated a decline in the number of Native-earned degrees from the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, between 1976 and 1980.

The latest event in the Eagle school story is that the state representative has requested funding to build a new, larger school building on a different site. From an educational standpoint, the school building is one of the least important factors in providing high quality instruction. The REAA's are 100% funded by the State of Alaska.

Due to time limitations, I have only been able to present the skeleton of Eagle's eighty-year educational experience. For the meat, I would refer you to the 387-page document, "Eagle School's Eighty Years," prepared in 1981.

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TEACHING CONDITIONS AT CIRCLE CITY: 1896-1966

Patricia Oakes

Education in Alaska's history embraces some good test scores, some innovative programs, and some unique circumstances. But most of all, it is the history of frontier people and their thirst for knowledge. The various types of people who have been recruited to bring education to Alaska's classrooms would be a study in itself. But today we will examine the teaching conditions during three different periods at Circle City, a small, historic community on the Yukon River, first settled by miners during interior Alaska's first major gold strike. The conditions found there are not too different from those in many other rural settings, then and now.

Circle City -- a "Paris of the North" of log cabins and tents. It was McQuesten's town, established around his trading post after Pitka and Serasky pinpointed the legendary "Preacher Creek" to be Birch Creek with their 1892 gold strike. Into this supply camp on the Yukon came the gold seekers who were to head for the gulches of the Circle Mining District during the summer months and return to the lonely river community during the winter months. Into this camp also moved a group of Kutchin Indians who had previously lived about twelve miles upriver -- at Circle City were employment opportunities for them and eventually a school for their children to attend. Although the camp of about 1,500 emptied out somewhat when word arrived of the Klondike strike in 1896, it never became the complete ghost town that some writers imply. Gold production continued in the area, as did exploration and prospecting toward the Tanana Valley and the Fairbanks gold fields, discovered by Felix Pedro in 1902.

In 1896, the Bureau of Education in Washington opened a school at this northern camp. According to the agreement, the

Bureau of Education would provide a teacher, fuel, and coal-oil for lighting, while Circle City would provide a schoolhouse and needed furniture. The camp raised funds for the building and furniture during the previous year by holding five dances, bringing in $1,714.55. The balance due of $554.27 was raised with some difficulty during the winter of 1896, as many of the community leaders departed for the Klondike. The building was "rough, unhewn logs, chinked with moss, and covered with a pole and dirt roof."

Miss Anna Fulcomer arrived at Circle City in the fall of 1896. As she wrote for a Century Magazine article in 1898:

> On October 1, the dirt roof was on the log school-house, and I opened school, despite the fact that for two weeks the carpenter worked among us, planing benches and doors, putting in a partition, and, of course, driving nails. Teaching under such circumstances was difficult, particularly while getting acquainted with the capacities of the pupils. At the same time, it was so cold that during half the session I was shivering and sometimes my teeth chattered. The arctic winter was upon us. The ground was covered with snow, the Yukon was frozen over, and the thermometer dropped lower and lower. Our good-sized, modern heater could not warm the large room, especially as our four windows were not yet in. Cotton-drilling was tacked over the openings, for there were no windows in the camp. Toward the latter end of October, the weather moderated sufficiently to open a channel in the Yukon enabling a steamboat to reach Circle City. It brought us needed windows, so for a while we were more comfortable.

This exceptionally early freeze-up in the area did not make conditions easy for Miss Fulcomer or the thirty-six pupils who enrolled when a dozen were expected. They ranged in age from five to thirty and included Caucasians and Natives, as well as one Arab miner who wished to read and write English. Other miners came to the school during the winter months to enroll, but the heavy load already on the teacher made an adult program impossible.

In 1961, Mrs. Myra Peters of Circle City recalled that first school. She and her brother lived with grandparents in the Kutchin village above Circle City, but had moved to the mining camp when a bad spring flood destroyed the village.

My grandparents were old and it was hard to follow the

> caribou, so they came here where they could work and get food. It was a cold winter, a cold school. To go to school, we all had to bring sticks of firewood every day for the stove. My brother and I also had to gather enough firewood for my grandparents' cabin. I liked school. I got to the fourth book before I had to quit. It just got so cold and dark that my brother and I could not gather enough firewood to keep warm at home and take our sticks for the school stove, too. But sometimes after I grow up and my kids grow up, I come back to school again to read the books.

In her 70's at the time of this interview, she was still borrowing books from the school to read.

In 1896, Circle City had an opera house, as well as an active miners' association. One of the functions of the miners' group was providing a library for the community and the miners in the nearby gulches.

The community held periodic dances to raise funds for the school, Miss Fulcomer recalled.

> I had been in Circle City scarcely three weeks before I was invited to a dance. I declined, with thanks, on the plea that I did not dance. "But this is a school dance, and you *must* go," said the chairman of the school board. "More miners will go if it known that the teacher will be there; and we are anxious to raise the money to pay the debt on the school-house." So I pocketed my prejudices, and attended a dance in a mining camp.

The opera house was the scene of the dance. The miners partnered white and Native women, with the ladies sitting on opposite sides of the hall. Sleepy children roamed among the dancers, and babies slept in the corners. After midnight refreshments, the dance continued until 3 a.m., raising $276.50.

The temperature dropped to the minus thirties in November. A janitor was hired for $40.00 a month to start the morning fire and fetch a pail of water. But the stove was still inadequate to keep the building warm, and it was necessary to play musical chairs to get a spot near the stove. Miss Fulcomer taught with her fur boots and fur coat on all day.

In December, the miners' literary society met at the schoolhouse. Miss Fulcomer wrote:

> I did not attend the first meeting, but understood that they were nearly congealed, notwithstanding their "heated"

> argument. As we sat shivering at the second meeting, the chairman asked me how the school managed to keep warm with such a stove. "We don't pretend to keep warm, for it is simply impossible to do so," I answered. After some discussion, the miners took a vote on a resolution declaring that "if there's a Yukon heater to be had in camp, the school-ma'am shall have it, no matter what it costs." Three days later, the school-room was furnished with a "Yukon heater" which made the air vibrate. It was a monstrous big coal-oil tank, round and black, one end cut out and fastened upon hinges for a door, and with legs of sheet-iron plate supporting it lengthwise on the floor. Fur coats were no longer needed. Once filled with cord-wood, it was sufficient to keep the school-room warm for half a day -- in fact, almost too warm.

Possibly the New Year's minstrel show of the miners' associaion paid for this heating gem.

In spite of their building problems and acute shortage of books, the school year continued. Spring arrived, with mosquitoes, mud and the breakup of the Yukon ice. On May 27, the first steamboat arrived. Everyone wanted to go to the Klondike. When Miss Fulcomer opened school the next morning, only six students remained. On June 4, she ended "the most enjoyable year of school work that I had ever known."

Although Circle City did not become a complete ghost town with the boom in the Klondike, its days of glory were over, and the population declined. Newer camps -- Nome, Fairbanks, Wiseman, Ruby -- lured the gold-seekers and their families. After the turn of the century, the school was operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Howver, in the 1920's the BIA school closed, and the territorial school system took over. In 1923, the population was around fifty, with twenty white people and the rest Natives. The territorial teacher arrived two weeks late, due to a steamboat delay in Dawson. Her first report to Commissioner of Education Lester D. Henderson seemed to set the tone for her year:

> I believe I am going to like Circle very much. It is not nearly as nice a place as Hope, however, because the people are not nearly as agreeable. From what I have heard and seen so far, they are very hard to please and someone is always dissatisfied.
>
> They have never rebuilt the Native school. Because

> there were such a few white children, I had thought it would be fine to teach the Natives, too. There are only four or five, but one of the women on the school board very strongly objected, so, of course, the matter was dropped.

By this time, the Signal Corps was part of the communications system of Alaska. Their station at Circle City was built in 1907 with what was claimed, at that time, to be the tallest wireless tower in the world. News of the world came into the station, keeping the area in touch with the world and somewhat eliminating the feeling of isolation previously experienced by residents. Each night at 7 p.m., the wireless operator would get on the telephone, for a private phone system connected Circle City with the mining creeks and population clusters at Central House, Circle Hot Springs, and Miller House. The operator would call the roll, and someone would answer for each signal along the creeks. After roll call, the operator read the news of the day to the telephone subscribers in Circle City and along the creeks. The teacher found this contact with the world enjoyable and appreciated the two radio crystal sets in Circle City. "We hear a concert every evening from California, Texas or Canada." Mail service was less than perfect during the freeze-up period from early October until mid-November, but then became reliable with dog-team service.

Upon receipt of her October letter, Henderson wrote to authorize the teacher to conduct special sessions of school two or three times a week for the benefit of Indian children who resided in the community and were not permitted to attend school. Henderson wrote in November, 1923:

> I am wiring [the school board] my approval with the proviso that you are not unduly taxed by the additional work, and that the children in attendance are free from disease. It would be unwise to permit them to use textbooks and other supplies if there is any danger of spreading infectious or contageous diseases among the other children of the community. I understand that the big objection to Circle natives attending the Territorial school is based on the ground of their poor health.

The young teacher did indeed have a difficult year, for she ran into some troublesome social problems within the community.

Objections to her evening recreation program for the children exploded into a full-scale community fracus in which she called upon the Fairbanks District Attorney's office to investigate various charges to clear her good name. By the end of that year, arrangements were underway to re-open the BIA school and close the territorial school. The teacher retreated to Circle Hot Springs to rest before heading for another assignment.

From that time through the late 1950's, the school was operated by the BIA, which took over the wireless station building for the school. The classroom was in the old generator room, while the teachers occupied the office and quarters of the wireless station. Built of planks, the building had eleven-foot ceilings and no insulation. Local people earned winter money selling up to forty cords of wood a year for the stoves in the basement -- and earned again after the spring flood, collecting the cordwood that had drifted off and pumping out the basement of the building. In time, the BIA switched to oil stoves and left the water in the basement, where it froze, leaving a well-refrigerated layer of ice year-round just eighteen inches under the floor.

By 1958, apparently hoping to avoid building a new school, the BIA transferred several of the students to Wrangell Institute and Mt. Edgecumbe hospital school and announced that since local enrollment had dropped so greatly, they would close the Circle City school. Some families made temporary moves to Fort Yukon so their children could attend school, but the whole community was unhappy about losing the school. The people appealed to the State Department of Education, which re-opened the school in the fall of 1959 under a Johnson-O'Malley contract, with the State Department of Education providing the teacher and educational program, while the BIA continued to provide the building they had hoped to abandon.

In the fall of 1961, another young woman arrived to each at Circle City. She found the walls stained with the marks of four previous floods, a tired and worn school plant, and nineteen eager youngsters in a 17 x 23 classroom, which also housed primitive handwash facilities, storage for a limited snack program, and forty-seven cattered library books for school use. Long gone was the 10,000 volume library of the miners' association, the opera house, and the literary society, as well as the communications of the Signal Corps. But the community still liked to dance and was supportive of the school they had come so close to losing.

The winter of 1961-1962 set some cold-weather records in the interior of Alaska, and in this uninsulated building the cold was felt and became a primary concern. Although there was now an oil stove and children did not have to bring firewood to attend school, keeping the classroom even up to forty degrees became a problem by November. By December, the temperature in classroom and quarters was often below freezing.

Myra Peters, who had carried wood so she could attend school in 1896, visited the teacher each day, urging her to "bring sleeping bag and come to my house. This school always too cold for Indian or white man."

The janitor, whose magnificent wage was the same $40.00 a month as in 1896, often worked forty hours a week, trying to keep heat in the building. He arrived at 6 a.m. to supplement the oil stove with its bulging firepot with the heat from six kerosene heaters -- fumepots, as they were called by all within their atmosphere. When the school bell rang at 8:45 a.m., the children left their warmer homes and hurried to school, where he lined them up to enter the building at one time so that all the heat would not escape through the door. From 9-10:30 a.m., the students repeated Miss Fulcomer's musical chairs game to have a turn near the stove. From 10:30-11 a.m., square dancing warmed the shivering youngsters. Then they headed home, laden with schoolbooks and assignments.

Out came the fumepots again to warm the building for the afternoon session. At 1 p.m., school started again. When the classroom dropped to forty degrees, rehearsal for a very active Christmas program was held, with all dressed in their heaviest coats and mittens. Lacking Miss Fulcomer's fur coat and boots, the teacher wore two sets of long johns, insulated underwear, and two pairs of wool slacks, topped by three woolen sweaters. Moosehide mukluks insured warm feet.

> December 18, 1961: Outside temperature at 8 a.m. -59. Classroom temperature (before the doors were opened to admit students) was 38. Too cold so distributed library books and sent youngsters home to keep warm.
>
> Bedroom honey bucket frozen so solid it took an hour on stove to heat it to dumping temperature -- and the smell thawed before the contents did. Got kitchen water pipes thawed and added several pails of hot water to main tank, hoping to raise the temperature slightly and thaw surface ice.
>
> Water delivery today, so have to keep kitchen door open for hose. Can't bake bread today -- no place to raise it.

So read the notes of the teacher's diary, submitted to the State Department of Education. Thawing pipes, watching the bulging firepots on worn oil stoves, and learning to cope with the exhaustion that extreme cold places on a body -- "I wonder if there is a 'deep freeze' kind of hell for those who built this place and for those who have neglected proper maintenance?" she queried.

The week between Christmas and New Year saw temperatures in the -70 range. Hardy older brothers and sisters came to the school to get assignments for the children in each family and returned assignments which the teacher corrected with gloved hands. In the quarters, the bedroom was zero, the living room was zero, and the "warm" kitchen was thirty-five degrees, with stove patrol demanding most of the teacher's time. During this cold spell, the local electric company kept the generator going around the clock. To let the generator cool during the usual 10 p.m.-7 a.m. shutdown period would mean not being able to get the generator started again. The schoolroom clock was kept on the warming oven in the quarters so that the grease on its gears would not stiffen to a stop. Kerosene for the kitchen refrigerator was solid at -65, but the room itself kept food cool. However, that same depleted and solid kerosene supply was now no longer available for the fumepots.

The cold spell broke New Year's eve -- temperatures reached -30 and the whole town shed layers of garments and held a memorable dance to celebrate.

Early in January, the residents of Circle City collected enough money to bring State Senator Robert McNealy to Circle to observe the situation. His arrival in balmy zero weather brought the community together in the classroom to express their concern. Village leader Irvin John stated: "When I was a kid, I always wanted to go trapping in winter. The school was too cold. Terrible to have to sit still and be cold. Now my kids sit here shivering in the same school building. It isn't right."

Senator McNealy was impressed by the concern of the people and the condition of the building. In cooperation with U.S. Senator Bob Bartlett, once a miner in the Circle District, he set the wheels in motion. The BIA, whose responsibility the building was, made plans for immediate construction of a new building above flood level. While this was underway, the State Department of Education provided good support for improving the educational program; the teacher and the community worked together to immediately upgrade the library.

The months after McNealy's visit remained cold, but temperatures did not again fall to the -50 range. When Col. John Glenn orbited the earth in February, 1962, the students huddled around the classroom stove in the room which once contained the power source for the tallest wireless tower in the world. The kitchen of the quarters where the teacher's new Japanese transistor radio was, could not hold all eighteen children, and there was not enough antenna wire to bring the radio into the classroom until one enterprising fourth grader dashed out the door and into the willows behind the school's outhouses. He returned triumphantly with a handful of rabbit snares. These were twisted together to bring the radio into the classroom, and the youngsters excitedly followed the orbit and splashdown, one of the more exciting events of the twentieth century.

On December 23, 1963, the students sledded their desks and schoolbooks to a new, insulated building which is still in use today. Glowing happily as they put on their Christmas program, they were enjoying their own exciting event of the twentieth century. In typical new-building fashion, the thermostat went wild. Irvin John grinned happily as sweat poured down his face. "Imagine, a warm place to go to school." Trying to feel at ease again in a dress and nylon stockings, the teacher agreed. For several months, adjustments were made to the building, with carpenters, plumbers and electricians working throughout the day, but teaching did not seem especially difficult under the circumstances to this teacher. I know, for I was that teacher.

Test scores and special programs alone cannot tell the history of education in Alaska. It is a colorful history of people, thirsting for knowledge under what at times are tremendous challenges. It is children getting to school under adverse weather conditions; it is dedicated teaching, working and living in some very unique situations; it is custodians, trying to hold together a groaning school plant so that classes may be held; it is communities pulling together. This history conference can barely cover the surface of the unusual and wonderful history of education in Alaska's past.

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BRIEF HISTORY OF CORDOVA SCHOOLS AND TEACHING EXPERIENCES IN ALASKA'S PAST

Phyllis D. Carlson

Miss Meldah Nettleton gets the credit for first broaching the subject of having the little town of Cordova districted and a school established. A regulation for establishing such a school within the proposed district was that there should be a certain number of children of school age.

Cordova was a bustling, roaring, construction town in 1908. It was the ocean terminus of the Copper River and Northwestern Railway being built to the copper mine at Kennecott. The town had been completely surveyed by A. J. Adams, and by the summer of 1908 streets were laid out. An old copy of the Cordova Alaskan, dated August 29, 1908, listed the names of sixty-five businessmen in the young city. Twenty-three of the businesses were saloons. One of the earliest residents of Cordova, Marie Logan, remembers that as a child she wasn't allowed to go downtown except on the Fourth of July.

But there were children. Miss Nettleton scoured the town and secured the sanction of the townspeople for her project. She called the children together and found a barely sufficient number to meet the requirement -- but enough.

The next step was to transmit a request to Alaska's Governor. Miss Mary E. Hart was visiting in Cordova at the time, in the interests of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. She carried with her the formal statement and request to which was affixed the official seal of the U.S. Commissioner. This she delivered in person to Governor Hoggat in Juneau.

The governor complied with the request and a school board election became necessary. The election was ushered in by a brass band leading a parade. The band had climbed aboard a very smart-looking buggy drawn by a stubborn mule. Messers

Harry Thisted, George Dooley, Frank Castle and Lee Van Slyke were successful in gaining the enthusiasm of the townspeople and carrying the election to a successful end. Also in the August 29, 1908 issue of the Cordova Alaskan we find the result of the election held August 28. There were 234 votes cast, with Horace Leach receiving 232, George Hazelet 233 and Lee Van Slyke with 232 votes elected clerk. The newspaper item said that "they would proceed at once to secure an appropriation from the government with which to build a school building and open school."

Meanwhile, until a school was built, the pupils met in one room of the Dooley Building on 2nd Avenue near where Mt. Eccles School now stands. Miss Nettleton was the first teacher, and on that first day of school, December 7, 1908, twenty-three pupils reported. They ranged from grades one to six. Next year, school opened in the Ostrander Building on 2nd Avenue. The attendance had grown enough so two teachers were hired.

In the school year 1910-1911, the people of Cordova were justly proud of a new school building. It was built on the brow of the hill in back of 2nd Avenue, and consisted of four large rooms with adjoining cloak rooms. On this site it remained until the new Mt. Eccles School was built, many years later. Three teachers were now necessary, the faculty being Adele Pickle, principal, and her two assistants, Miss Meldah Nettleton and Miss Violet Borgette.

Some high school subjects were taught as early as the school year 1914-1915, possibly even earlier, but Cordova High School wasn't organized and handled as a separate department until 1915, when Miss Fannie Brayton, principal, with one assistant taught English, History, and Algebra. From 1918-1921 there were three teachers engaged in part-time high school teaching as well as teaching grade school subjects. Miss Emma Keever was the principal then. The average high school enrollment was about fifteen or sixteen in these years. In 1918 a commercial course was introduced and proved very popular. Typing and shorthand were followed by courses in bookkeeping. Other high school courses in these three years (1918-1921) included English, Modern and Ancient History, General Science and Algebra.

The growth of the school was steady. In the year 1924-1925 it became apparent that the old building was not adequate. Bonds issued for $50,000.00 made it possible to build a new concrete building next to the old building. By the fall of 1925 it was ready for occupancy -- for my sophomore high school year, by the way. The school enrollment by that time in grade and high school was 161 students, and there were ten teachers.

In 1920 the first graduating class of Cordova High School consisted of two students, Edna Thawley and John Rosswog. John Rosswog, who became a leading Cordova citizen, later was a member of the Constitutional Convention that drew up Alaska's Constitution.

The next year, 1921, there were three graduates, but none in 1922. In the next few years, the graduating classes ranged from three to eight or nine. My class of 1928 had seven. Ten years later, ten graduated. So it went through the years. A banner year was 1960, with nineteen marching up the aisle to receive their diplomas.

In 1934 Cordova High School received full accredation in the Northwest Association of Secondary and High Schools. It was one of the first six in the territory to receive such accredation. There were 169 pupils and ten teachers in 1935, and in the annual report to the Northwest Association, we find the following information: There were fifty-seven high school students enrolled October 1, 1935, and there were two teachers teaching only academic subjects and two others teaching academic and non-academic ones. Mr. A. J. Westall was superintendent that year. We find in the report that the school library contained twenty-four volumes for each pupil, the books being catalogued and adequately housed. One hundred dollars had been sepnt the prvious year for library books. Also listed were periodicals to which the library regularly subscribed. They included such magazines as Current History, Literary Digest, Time, Popular Science, National Geographic, Scholastic, etc.

The value of the apparatus in the science lab was listed as -- Physics, $400.00; Biology, $185.00; Chemistry, Agriculture and Zoology not taught. Manual Training apparatus was listed as $225.00; Commercial, $700.00; Musical Instruments, $225.00; Gym apparatus, $70.00; Maps and Charts, $50.00. We note that Sewing and Cooking were not taught.

The teacher-pupil ratio was broken down to one teacher for 14.5 pupils, with four teachers having five or less classes. None taught six or more.

Sixteen units were required for graduation, and length of recitation periods were forty-five minutes. Fifty-six weeks of actual school were given.

The enrollment had increased in 1936-1937 to sixty-six high school students and five teachers including the superintendent. However, in 1938 the Copper River and Northwestern Railway was abandoned. The town suffered no irreparable economic damage, as fishing had become increasingly important, but the closing of the railroad had some impact. As I said, in 1936-1937 there were sixty-six students enrolled in high school. In the 1938-1939 report to the Northwest Association of Secondary and High Schools, we find that the enrollment had dropped to forty-seven -- a loss of sixteen students. There were five teachers that year in the high school. In 1940-1941 there were only thirty-seven students enrolled, a loss of ten, and there were four teachers including the superintendent. The teacher-pupil ratio was 1:10.6.

That the loss of enrollment was creating problems is shown by a letter I came across, written in 1940 to the Commissioner of Education. It was written by the clerk of the Cordova School Board, W. E. Downing, who happens to have been my father.

The letter said that because of the loss of enrollment it was found necessary to cut the staff as suggested by the Commissioner. In trying to keep all the departments, one of the oldest teachers in term of service would have to be let go. She could not teach a high school language course, and someone who could teach both in the grade school and high school was needed. The school board hoped the Commissioner could help place the teacher, Mary Curry, for the following year.

In 1942, a fire of unknown origin broke out in the frame building adjoining the high school, causing $14,000.00 worth of damage, destroying equipment of the science department, library, study hall and music room. This was not rebuilt, as it occurred during World War II, and it was difficult to obtain material.

Conditions became crowded when the BIA closed their school in Cordova and the pupils were taken into the city school. In 1949, the Cordova Community Church allowed the school board to put the kindergarden and one primary grade into the church Sunday school room. In 1950, attendance was still growing, and it was necessary to rent the American Legion Hall to hold primary grades.

Although minutes of the school board first mentioned the need for a new school in 1946, the actual planning for the new Mt. Eccles School did not begin until 1951. The bond issue was passed by the voters in 1952, and in 1955 the kindergarden and all the primary grades moved into their new home. Gail Floyd, who was a primary student at the time, recently told me that she remembers carrying books and belongings from the Legion Hall to the new school building.

The new elementary school, named after the mountain in back of Cordova, originally contained ten classrooms and an auditorium, superintendent's office, a large basement, play area and adequate storage space. In 1955 there were approximately 250 students enrolled in kindergarden through eigth grade. I was on the school board at the time and remember how proud we were of our new school. However, in the early sixties it became apparent that more space was needed, and in 1963 five rooms were added to the west wing. As the building lies on a hillside, the addition gave it a balance adding to its attractiveness. By 1967, 380 pupils were enrolled, and there were sixteen teachers. In 1966 an elementary principal/guidance counselor was added.

The curriculum kept pace, with a modern language -- French -- being taught in grades five, six and seven, and the latest in projection, reading and science equipment was introduced.

Meanwhile, the high school was in the old building up on the hill, the first time in its history it had the building to itself. However, a new high school was built in 1967-1968, modern in every respect. It was built across the ball park and consisted of twelve classrooms, a regular-size gym seating 1,000 people, adequate labs, a functional library and health and recreation facilities.

The Cordova school is a participating member of the Alaska High School Activities program. In fact, Cordova's students have participated in extra-curricular activities from its very beginning, even when its numbers were small. Since 1924, the school paper, the "Northern Light," has been published and won national honors several times. For a number of years it received a first class rating from the National Scholastic Press Association of the University of Minnesota. In 1941 the school paper ranked first among commercially printed papers in the territory.

In 1929 the Toarch Society was established to encourage scholarship by recognizing its importance. The National Honor Society has an active chapter there. The music department with its band and chorus has been the pride of both school and town. Each year it entertained at concerts and participated in the Alaska Music Festival. For many years the students put on plays and minstral shows; Junior proms and Senior balls were given, a yearly school carnival was held and they all contributed to the activities, which also included camera club, rifle club and art exhibits.

Although athletics -- particularly baseball -- was important to the students, for many years they had no school gym. The students were allowed to use the Cordova Athletic Club facilities, paying dues to the club until their own gym was built. As clerk C. T. Davis wrote to the Commissioner of Education, "it was hoped that when the new school building was built, the 'tin building' adjoining the new school, could be used as a gym." In the 1920's the Cordova atheletes finally did get their gym.

As mentioned before, the BIA school in Cordova closed in 1947, and the Native children were brought into the city school. In an interview with the first Cordova BIA teacher, Myra Phillips

McDonald, who is now in the Anchorage Pioneer Home, she said that the first Native school was a converted apartment house across the ball park. It had living quarters at each end of a large room used for school purposes. This was in 1923, and she and her fellow teacher, Margaret Harper O'Farrel, had about thirty pupils. The younger children were taught at one end of the room and the older ones at the other end. They used the same books as used in territorial schools. Mrs. McDonald said that about one-third of the children could not speak English.

Before the BIA school was established, there had been no school for full-blooded Native children, although as early as 1920 some half-breed children attended the public school. In a report to the Commissioner of Education dated January 20, 1920, principal Emma Keever listed eight half-breed children attending the city school -- four in the first, three in the second and one in the sixth grades.

Mrs. McDonald said that, "In the early days when the Cordova school started in the fall, some of the children would come, sit on the steps of the school but wouldn't be allowed to attend unless their fathers were white."

It worked both ways, however. Mrs. McDonald said some of the Natives didn't want their children exposed to white man's ways, and in some instances the teachers had a hard time to persuade the Native parents to send their children to school. Mrs. McDonald believed it was better, in some respects, that the Natives had their own school and had some teaching before being exposed to competition with white children.

About 1925-1926 a new BIA school was built in Eyak, or "Old Town." In the new school there were two rooms, but still two teachers. Mrs. McDonald said that the children did not go on to high school. She taught there until 1932.

In looking over reports to the Commissioner of Education about Native enrollment in the Cordova school system from 1920 on, there seems to be a steady increase. In 1923 there were twenty-five children of Native blood, including one full blood; in 1928 there were forty-four; and by 1934 there were fifty-one.

In 1934, a P.T.A. committee wrote to the Commissioner asking if there was any law about Natives attending their own school. In his reply, the Commissioner informed them that there was no such law compelling the Natives to attend the government school, or any to keep them from attending territorial schools. A Ketchikan judge ruled that the schools in Alaska were for white children and children of mixed blood. The legislature, after thoroughly discussing the matter, said that in their opinion there was no possible way in which Natives could be compelled to attend the Native school. So wrote the Commissioner. He further added that they could keep the Natives from their school if they were diseased, unclean or living in unsanitary conditions, "or you could put them in one room under one teacher as the Wrangell school arranged." The Cordova school didn't go that route, and in 1947 when the BIA school closed the Natives entered the city school.

Many of the Native children, as well as some white children, lived in Eyak, a precinct adjoining the southern boundary of Cordova. As early as 1920, a P.T.A. committee consisting of Caleb Corser, Superintendent of the Copper River and Northwestern Railway, R. J. De Leo and C. T. Donohoe wrote the Territorial Board of Education asking if it was possible to obtain funds from the territory to compensate the town of Cordova for its expenses in educating the Eyak children, of whom in 1920 there were thirty-three pupils. The cost per pupil was approximately $120.00, of which the territory paid $90.00 and the town $30.00.

Lester D. Henderson, Commissioner of Education, in response, wrote that nothing could be done at that time, but that he would present the problem to the next meeting of the legislature.

Looking over school records and school board correspondence between them and the Commissioner concerning teachers' salaries, it is interesting to see what a teacher was paid sixty-odd years ago. When I was offered my first teaching position at Cooper Landing in 1931, $160.00 a month was considered by my fellow graduates of Central Washington College of Education a princely compensation. The rate of pay, however, hadn't increased greatly since the earlier days. In 1919, a first grade teacher in Anchorage was paid $160.00 per month, second and third grade teachers, $150.00. In Juneau, $125.00 a month was paid to the lower grade teachers; in Valdez, $140.00 a month for the first five grades. In 1917, the Commissioner advised Cordova to offer the Superintendent $250.00 a month, and in 1921, $1,665.00 a year for high school teachers. He wrote: "You should be able to secure a man competent to head your school system for $2,500.00 a year."

Many problems besides teacher salaries confronted Cordova's school boards throughout the years. There was the closing of the railroad, but the citizens kept improving their schools. Perhaps it is symbolic that the new, ten-room Mt. Eccles grade school was built near the place that those twenty-three pupils met with their teacher in a small building nearly fifty years before. The new high school across the ball park was built near the location of the first BIA school. Cordova has come a long way, and always tried to provide its children with a good educational program, and its elementary and high schools are evidence of that.

EXPERIENCES AT RIDDIFORD

Although the school I first attended in Cordova may have seemed quite primitive to those used to city schools, the first school I taught at Cooper Landing on Kenai Lake really deserved that description.

A log cabin, heated by a Yukon wood stove, lighted by a kerosene lamp and no plumbing. We carried out water from the Kenai River a few hundred feet away, and in winter we had to break the ice to obtain it. The log cabin was divided into a school room and, in back, a room for teacher's quarters.

It had been a struggle to get a school for the few children in the vicinity, and the building was donated by a public-spirited couple who had four of the six school-age children. They also provided board for the teacher. There was no school board at the Riddiford School, as it was called. It was classified as a special class school and not in any school district. The people in the little community had been trying for several years to obtain a school. They finally achieved it in 1929. There had been two teachers before me -- Margaret Barnett (Mrs. George Nelson) and Mrs. Leo Douglass. They each lasted for one year -- I stayed for three.

In my first monthly newsletter and report to the Commissioner of Education (copies of which were kindly sent me by the state archivist), I see that I started out with an enrollment of nine pupils, but one shortly moved down to his home on Russian River.

In October, 1931 I reported that I had started a cooking and domestic science class for the three girls old enough. However, I had a problem -- a seventh grade pupil and no books for that grade. They were promptly forthcoming after a request to the Commissioner. I also requested Stanford Achievement Tests after discovering that the students had never been tested. Reference books were also requested, as there were none at the school, and I wrote that they would be very helpful to the fifth and seventh graders. There were no library books, and I kept asking Juneau for used library books.

The winters were dark and long. The school room was lighted by a kerosene lamp and by 2 o'clock it had to be lit. It didn't provide adequate light, I thought, and I wrote the Commissioner that I was worried the children's eyesight might be harmed. So, I allowed two weeks for Christmas vacation.

Although our school was to be for seven months, an extra month would be allowed if attendance warranted, and that first year we were given that extra month.

In my second year I started with nine pupils, but during the winter months two of the youngest found it too difficult to make the trip between their homes several miles away and the school. Most of the other children lived near enough so they could make it through the winter months. In fact, weather didn't seem to bother them much. I remember one cold February day when it was -35° and I couldn't get the temperature above zero in the schoolroom. I let the children go home, but looking outside later saw them playing out in the snow. They were a hardy lot.

All our waterborne supplies had to be gotten down before the lake froze, sometime in November. After that, dogteam travel up to Lawing on the railroad was necessary. There was plenty of wild game and fish; wild berries and gardens helped the food supply.

Although the children had no organized sports and lacked many other extracurricular activities found in other schools, they were a very self-sufficient lot. One of my ex-pupils went on to graduate from college and has had a responsible position with the state. I've kept in touch with several others. In fact, one wrote me a few years ago from California, saying that I was the only one of her previous teachers she kept in touch with.

I taught until 1934, and the school continued until sometime in the 1940's. Then there was an interval when there was no school at the Landing. In 1952 the school started up again, held in the anteroom of the Community Hall. In 1955 several men from the community erected a small Quik log building. Then, in 1959, a surplus army building was brought from Anchorage. By then the enrollment was up to forty, and Cooper Landing had two teachers for the first time -- and a real school house. Quite a change from that first little log cabin.

TEACHING AT TYONEK

A few years ago I was invited by the Tyonek villagers to come and see how their village had changed since the 1930's, when my husband and I were engaged by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to work there as teacher and community workers.

The school house and attached teacher's quarters in 1937 were not very old, as the village had been moved up from its old beach location because of flooding some few years before. The school room and quarters were quite spacious compared to the log cabin I had taught in at Cooper Landing. There was a large school room and a dispensary at one end of the building. At the other was the teacher's quarters, consisting of living room, bedroom, kitchen and bathroom. As there was no plumbing, the bathroom was more ornamental than utilitarian, but the bath tub was handy for storage.

We burned coal that the villagers mined down the beach and brought up by skiff. Aladdin gasoline lamps provided illumination. My attendance averaged around twenty pupils in the first five or six grades, and our course of study was about the same as in the territorial schools. Some of it had little relevance to their way of life -- the way Dick and Jane lived certainly didn't. And I can remember one episode concerning American history. A Native girl reading about the Indian wars in our history book remarked, "Those Indians are bad people!"

I often wished the material I had to teach with was more appropriate. At this time we started the idea of dropping phonics and using "experience reading." At least we could make up stories using their words and experiences, although I am a firm believer in the usefulness of phonics.

Like at Cooper Landing, we were isolated during the winter, though the second year we were there we had a radio telephone and a schedule with other stations. The first year, if an emergency arose, we would have to stamp out an S.O.S. in the snow and hope that a plane flying overhead could land on a nearby frozen lake.

Emergencies did come up frequently. If we couldn't help with the material in the dispensary, we would have to get the patient to town. Dog bites, appendicitis, wounds sustained in fights and accidents were some of the emergencies that arose.

The villagers were very poor, kept going by a C.C.C. project swamping out the area which is now their airfield. Little one- or two-room cabins clustered around their small co-op store. Water was carried from a nearby lake.

And then came their oil wealth, and the village was transformed. As I looked at the modern homes with all conveniences -- including plumbing and running water -- it was difficult to remember it as it was when I taught there forty-some years before.

The villagers took great pride in showing me over their new three-quarter of a million dollar school house. Gymnasium, auditorium -- all the amenities of a modern city school -- they have now. They also have over a hundred pupils and, I understand, ten teachers.

What a difference from the old school where one teacher taught twenty pupils -- and what a difference these years have made in one Native village.

SOURCES -- Carlson

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Report of Native Children in Cordova School, 1926-1934.

Cordova High School Roster of Graduates, 1920-1960.

Interview with Myra Phillips McDonald, first BIA teacher in Cordova.

Interview with various Cordova people.

Guide to Cordova area, Cordova Chamber of Commerce.

Various copies of "Northern Light," yearbook of the Cordova High School.

Correspondence from Riddiford School to the Commissioner of Education and monthly reports to the Commissioner.

I am very grateful to state archivist, John Stewart, for his aid and cooperation. I am grateful, too, to Marie Logan, whose "Cordova's Scholastic History" in the Cordova Times, summer, 1958, was very helpful, and her approval of my using the material is greatly appreciated.

THE PROCESS OF EDUCATION:
A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

William G. Demmert, Jr.

In order to appreciate the subltles involved in attempting to understand a person's educational experiences, it seems important to first know something about those things that help shape the environment a student grows up in. The attitudes, experiences, and training of a person's parents, the influences of custom and tradition, the personal experiences and intelligence of an individual all influence the educational process and the success achieved.[1]

This paper will deal with the attitudes, experiences, and training of my parents in a general way. The customs and traditions of the community involved will be addressed by describing what some of those customs and traditions were. In addition, the community setting, the school settings, and other environmental considerations will be presented when appropriate and related directly to the educational experiences of the author.

A CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

The Tlingit nation is divided into two groups, the Eagle and Raven clans.[2] Each moiety has subgroups referred to as clans, tribes, or houses. Each clan has as its main crest either the eagle or raven and, in addition, a variety of crests owned specifically by a particular house. The Tlingit were matrilineal,[3] with the eldest son responsible for carrying out certain responsibilities of government.[4]

The social structure was clearly defined and of major importance to the Tlingit. The matriarch and her direct line made up the ruling class. Other members of her family with their house comprised an upper class. The general population was comprised of distant relatives and others that had become part of the family. Slaves were individuals from other nations captured during raids or conflicts with other groups. It was possible for a slave to become a real person (part of the general population) because of some contribution, skill, or knowledge that was of benefit to a clan.[5]

Marriages were arranged by the parents of the future bride and groom while they were still children, and marriage could only take place between individuals of opposite moieties. In addition, marriage was within one's own social class. Tlingits were polygamous if they could afford it, and when the principal chief died, his younger brother became the new chief, assuming his older brother's responsibilities and wives.[6]

Tlingit children were expected to carry out certain responsibilities commensurate with their station in life.[7] The young male children were educated by their maternal uncles and the young females by their maternal aunts. For young boys, training started as soon as they could walk and consisted of a daily bath in the ocean to develop character and to learn to withstand pain and cold. Other skills were passed on to the young boys through working with their uncles during hunting and fishing activities, the preparation of tools and implements of war, practicing medicine, painting, carving, and other activities depending on what that uncle or the tribe was noted for.[8]

Customs and traditions were transmitted during the long winter nights by way of legends, story telling, potlatches, and specific instruction. Young children were not disciplined by their parents, but the uncles and aunts were strict and demanding taskmasters. Repetition until a task was mastered or an event memorized word perfect was the order of the day.[9]

Legend tells us that there were different waves of people populating Southeastern Alaska and combining to create the Tlingit nation. First, there was the creation of Tlingits on Dall Island and the Nass River area[10] (probably consistent with the legends of Raven the creator and the separation of man from the animal kingdom when man and animal were interchangeable).

The second wave came from the sea. Those that headed north became Tlingit and found a smaller-statured "kelp people" already settled. The group that moved south joined the Haida.[11] A third wave, my grandmother's people, came from the interior under the ice and settled along the east side of Heceta Island along Tonawak Narrows. Part of the clan stopped off in the Wrangell area and part moved north to the Klukwan area. My grandfather's father on my paternal side migrated down from farther north. His mother's clan came from the Taku area.[12]

More recently, Tsimshians moved north and mixed with the Tlingits, and in the Yakutat Bay area the Tlingits found a more ancient people and absorbed them into the Tlingit nation. The most recent wave (new blood within the Tlingit nation) started when Russians and other peoples intermarried with members of the Tlingit families and became part of a clan. The grandfather's side generally adopted the children of a non-Tlingit mother. Children of a non-Tlingit father are, of course, part of the mother's clan.[13] On occasion, a new clan would be started.

The Tlingits were a seafaring people. They looked to the sea for most of their food and clothing. The many channels among the islands served as their principal highways. The Tlingit traveled north as far as Kodiak, south as far as California, and traded with the interior Indians in what is now part of Canada's Yukon Territory and British Columbia. It is important to note that they also controlled the trade activities with the interior Indians.

The Tlingit nation inhabited the land from Yakutat in the north to Dixon Entrance in the south, with individual clans claiming certain areas for exclusive use/ownership. Other areas were for general use of all Tlingits.[14]

Tlingits were very flexible in their approach to some things. They adapted well to the economic systems brought by the Russians, the early European and American traders, and by the United States when Alaska was purchased from Russia. They were already accomplished traders and knew the value of trade goods. Land ownership was nothing new to them, so the issue of who owned the land in Southeast Alaska was not always important. The Christian religion and its stories of the flood were not too distant from the flood described in Tlingit legends, and creation by Raven was not too different from the concept described in the book of Genesis.

The Tlingit did believe in reincarnation, that a person came back at a later time to carry out their new responsibilities. A person's name was passed on from one generation to the next, indicating his/her station in life, their responsibilities, and clan.[15]

Religion, economic systems, laws, and other activities took on a new form as a blend between traditional and new practices emerged.

THE VILLAGE SETTING

The village of Klawock is located on the west coast of Prince of Wales Island in Southeast Alaska and was originally a summer camp for berry picking and drying fish for winter use. After the assumption of authority over the Tlingit nation by the United States, Klawock became an established community through influences exerted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and because of the canneries that were built on Klawock Bay.[16]

The population of Klawock has reached a high of over 1,000 residents, has had periods of extreme prosperity as well as poverty, and has remained predominantly Tlingit in its population to this day. During its early history, Klawock was dominated economically by two Native families -- the Demmerts and the Peratrovichs. Each family owned a cannery, a store, fishing boats, and employed about half the population. There was substantial rivalry between the two families for many years, even to the point where one family became Democrat and the other Republican in their politics.

The school in Klawock was originally a Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) community school for the elementary grades. It later became a territorial school, then an independent city school as part of the larger state system.[17]

In the 1950's, Klawock lost its population, primarily because of a decline in the fish runs. People moved out and left a small population of around 200 adults and children.

Today, there is only one cannery in operation and an expanding logging industry. The logging has developed primarily as a result of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 and the village corporation influence.

Most of the older houses have been torn down or are in a sad state of disrepair. A housing project in the late 1970's erected 15-20 new houses in two clusters; this has destroyed the original character of the community.

Klawock Heenya Village Corporation is the new economic giant in the community. They have built a six million dollar loading dock for shipping logs to the world market, with Sealaska Corporation and Shaanseet Corporation as partners. They have taken over the operation of the cannery, they have authorized the building of a trailer court for the families engaged in the logging industry, and they are planning on building a community store and selling fuel to the two to three ships that dock monthly to export timber.

A privately-owned sawmill has greatly enhanced the local economy by providing year-round work in the mill and work as longshoremen.

In spite of this, a good number of residents still continue the practice of living off the land by preserving fish and berries, other seafood and plant life, and wild game.[18]

THE PRIMARY SCHOOL YEARS

Bill Jr. was born March 9, 1934, to William and Florence Demmert in Klawock, Alaska. Bill was the first of three natural children and one adopted son, the first grandson of George and Lillian Demmert, and the first great-grandson of Kookash.

Bill's father, William, was one of the last in his family to receive his early training in the traditional Tlingit educational system. Bill Jr. benefited from some of the positive aspects of that system without encountering exposure to some of the tough physical and mental conditioning his father had to go through as a young boy. The benefits included the following:

(1) Having his uncles do much of the early training (in this case, paternal -- there were no maternal uncles).

(2) Not having to expose himself to the daily routine of taking a bath in the ocean year around.

(3) Not having the harsh taskmasters the traditional system had.

(4) Having a grandmother to pass on legends, songs, and dances.

(5) Having to meet high expectations in school, in the woods, on the fishing grounds, and on the athletic field.

One of Bill's earliest memories is dancing and singing in the Tlingit language with his grandmother, Lillian (Lillian, whose Indian name was Sit-guay, spoke only Tlingit). Lillian was always holding Bill Jr. in her lap, singing and talking to him whenever she could catch him. He was always told each time that he would soon be too big for her to hold him.

Another experience that stands out vividly was, when Bill was about five years old, spending the summer at Squaw-on, the old community house site on the west side of Heceta Island, with his grandparents. This was the home of his grandmother's clan, the Taq-wa-na-dee. The days were spent clearing the old grass and weeds from the garden site, digging up the earth, and planting potatoes. Bill remembers watching a doe and two fawns at the edge of the timber early one morning. Playing on the beach was a daily activity, skipping rocks, looking for yein (sea cucumbers), playing "boat" (tying a small boat to a stick with 2-4 feet of twine), and playing in the water when it was warm enough. Bill can remember waiting for his parents to come in the Justna Deanna (a trolling boat his grandfather and uncles had built) to take them back to town. They were late, and Bill's grandfather decided to use the open skiff to go to Klawock on their own. Bill recalls packing the bedding, loading the skiff, erecting a sail, and moving out into the channel. He can recall George, his grandfather, steering with an old paddle while his grandmother rowed the boat until the wind caught the sail. Finally, someone in a larger power boat stopped to tow them into Klawock.

One of Bill's major responsibilities as a youngster was to keep his grandmother supplied with salmon during the various runs into Klawock Creek. This responsibility included rowing her back and forth to the smoke house across the bay. The berry season also demanded substantial blocks of time periodically. Picking berries, making noise to keep bears away, and rowing the rowboat to and from the berry grounds were all part of the duties.

Between the ages of six and nine, Bill Jr. began to beach seine for sockeye with his granduncle and his granduncle's son. Bill received one-fourth of the catch as his share and turned all those fish over to his grandmother for canning and smoking.

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was created in the 1930's during the depression, and one of their projects in Southeast Alaska included carving totem poles in Klawock. These were copies of original poles that had been brought in from various village sites. Bill recalls watching the men of the community work on the huge cedar logs, making exact copies of the older poles from another time. Other men were clearing the land, burning the brush and trees. At night the proposed totem site made a wonderful playground with fires glowing against the dark sky. One could hide from the eyes of others and smoke cigarettes, tell scary stories, and play sneak, a game of keeping out of sight and reach of an opposing team. Once you were caught, you were out of the game until the roles were reversed and it was your time to chase.

Games like chase, swimming in Klawock Creek, practicing with a sling shot, and rowing around the bay playing "boat" were all done with little, if any, supervision. The boys had the run of the island -- Bill could eat lunch with virtually anyone he was playing with and not get into trouble. Alternatively, he could go to his grandparents any time and get something to eat.

Bill's mother tells him that between the ages of six and nine his grandfather would sneak him aboard the commercial seine boat on occasion, and he would spend a week fishing with George and his sons. When Bill reached the age of nine, he started as a regular crewman, earning a one-eighth share.

By the time Bill was thirteen, he was an expert deckhand and skiffman and he knew how to mend the net. In addition, he considered himself an expert cork and lead man (a person who pulls and piles the cork line or lead line on a commercial fishing net). He was also considered skilled enough to start fishing with his father on the largest boat in their fleet, for which he earned a full share.

Before Bill's early fishing years, he remembers playing in the cannery, making hiding places among the thousands of empty salmon boxes and building large caves in the middle of the piles. He also remembers playing in the web loft and filling needles used by the fishermen for "hanging seine" (constructing a fishing net for the salmon season).

When he reached nine years of age, Bill also had his first opportunity to hunt deer with a rifle. He shot one on his first hunt on the first shot. Up to this point, he had fired thousands of rounds through the various 22's available for his use and when the opportunity was there.

Bill can still picture his first trip to Hazy Island to pick seagull eggs. There were only small islands and rocks in sight, surrounded by lots of water and huge ocean swells. He remembers the fun he had watching the seagulls dive at the pickers and seeing the pickers protect themselves by placing their arms over their heads.

Bill's family picked seaweed and gumboots and dug clams on different occasions, in different seasons, but with equal intensity.

As a youngster on the boat trips for food, Bill was always expected to keep the lines on the boat coiled, the decks clean, and to hold the wheel (steer the boat while enroute to their destination). On one trip with his grandfather from Klawock to Craig on their small power boat, the Skeezix, Bill held the wheel for the whole forty-five minutes. As usual, as the boat was approaching the float in Craig, Bill slowed the motor down and waited for George to come in and take the wheel. George did not come. As the Skeezix got closer and closer, Bill took the clutch out of gear (put the clutch into neutral) and waited a little longer. His grandfather still did not come. Bill looked back to the stern where he knew George was sitting and asked his grandfather if he was going to come into the cabin and land the boat. All George said was "go ahead." Bill landed the boat and George "tied up" (secured the boat lines to the dock). Bill must have been six or seven at the time.

Another incident that stands out in Bill's memory happened while the family boat was commercial fishing in shallow water. They caught a large number of dungeness crab which members of the crew were just throwing away. Bill asked his father, the skipper, if it was all right to keep the crab and cook them. William said it was all right to keep a few. No one would help Bill cook the crab, so he cooked them himself and put them on deck to cool off. When Bill got ready to eat them (after unloading their catch of fish for the day), there was only one crab left in the pot. The other crew members had eaten most of them -- it was one of the few times Bill saw his father get upset. Bill was nine or ten at the time.[19]

Another time, when Bill was around twelve years of age, he was fishing with his uncles on the Justna Deanna, and they had just made a donut set (using half the seine) around a school of salmon which were moving very fast. Bill was the skiffman and responsible for holding one end of the net in place while the larger boat made a quick circle around the fish with the net. As the Justna Deanna neared the skiff, Bill threw them a line that he thought was secured to the end of the seine, untied the knot holding the line to the skiff, and moved around to the outside of the main boat. Bill's end of the net started to drift away and sink. It was not attached to the line Bill had thrown to the deckhand on the Justna Deanna -- it had been another line. They lost all the fish in the net because of the open end. No one said a word -- they just pulled the net back in over the stern of the boat. After they had finished and started on their way again, one of Bill's uncles told Bill that he had to be more careful if he was going to make a good skiffman.

Bill's winter, or more formal, educational activities started at the BIA day school in Sitka, Alaska. School was very easy in the beginning. The thing most hated initially was having to take cod liver oil daily. Track and field day in the spring was the most fun. Playing field hockey and reading comic books in the evening after school are also pleasant memories.

Bill had an uncle who taught in the BIA school during that period. The school was segregated in that only Natives attended. Bill remembers walking by the "other school," where non-Tlingit children went, and wondered why they were not allowed to go to his school. Bill and his family lived in an apartment near the school, and he did not have far to walk initially until they moved out near the totem park later in the year.

The totem park offered an excellent playground. There were trails to ride bikes on, woods to play in, beaches to play on, and totem poles to wander about. In addition, there was an old Russian blockhouse to explore.

Very little is remembered about schooling itself, except being one of the first to learn to count to 100, learning the alphabet, and getting sick when he had to take cod liver oil. At the end of the school year, Bill and his family moved to Petersburg where he entered the second grade, having skipped the first as a result of his excellent school work in Sitka. The reason for the move, as he remembers it, was the threat of Japanese attack along the outer coast of Alaska. Planes had been sighted off shore on at least one occasion.

Bill's new home in Petersburg was a log cabin along the main highway, one mile south of town. There was good muskeg behind the house to play in, about two acres of "lawn" to play on, and a beach across the road to use.

The school was located about a twenty-five minute walk from the house the Demmerts had purchased. Bill's first recollection of school in Petersburg is walking with his uncle Dave to school and having some kid "challenge" him enroute. That kid ended up in the same class that day, and Bill and this new fried shared each other's lunch. At the end of the day they walked home together. David, as the young man was called, and Bill became very good friends and had many opportunities to play together.

The school in Petersburg had a mixture of Tlingit and non-Tlingit students. The mixture, although not perceived, was a new experience for Bill Jr. Heretofore, he had lived in an all Native village, Klawock, or lived in housing areas of all Native families in Sitka and, in both cases, Bill had attended an all Native school.

It was difficult to adjust to the second grade; too many basic skills had been missed by moving from kindergarten to second grade without a stopover in grade one. The year went by quickly with nothing outstanding to remember. The second year in grade two was different. Three or four of Bill's friends are still remembered, and a few incidents in class can be recalled. The drills with arithmetic cards and the competition between students for speed and accuracy still stand out. Playing soccer, hit the bat, and learning to ski are remembered as being fun. The teacher is also remembered as being tall, pretty, and having white hair. She moved with the class from the second grade to the third because she liked the students so much.

In the third our fourth grade several events stand out. First, Bill remembers having a hearing test from the school nurse. He remembers the nurse telling the teacher that his (Bill's) hearing was very good and that there was nothing wrong. He also remembers hearing the teacher say that Bill's hearing might be good but that he sure did not listen. Bill remembers thinking: "What does that mean? If one's hearing is good then it stands to reason that one must hear." The second incident occurred during a play given by the class for other students in the school. Bill forgot his lines and had to sit down without saying them. Another time he heard an older boy talking about some "dirty siwash kids" and he wondered who they were and probably suspected they were the

Tlingit kids in the school.

When Bill was in the fourth grade, he had his first older teacher (the earlier one with white hair was a young lady). She had trouble keeping up with her students and, as a result, was more strict in what she allowed her students to do. It was about then that a young girl from Klawock started school in Petersburg. She was a big help to Bill, especially with English lessons. Basketball also became the big thing on the playground. Bill and several of his friends decided to become basketball players in high school, so they started to practice very day (until they found something more interesting for the moment).

While Bill was in Sitka, a second brother was born. He remembers that there were complications, and that Erwin was always sick. While in Petersburg, this younger brother died. Bill went to school that day and remembers an older boy "picking on him." Bill told this older person to stop or there would be a fight. The older boy stopped. Bill vowed that no one would ever pick on him again. Later that year, Bill and another classmate got into a fight over some incident -- he does not remember why -- but the vow of not allowing anyone to pick on him probably carried over and Bill made the other boy cry. An incident that caused Bill to wonder occurred when he was telling his mother about a group of girls chasing him. She appeared concerned and wanted to know if anything happened, asking if Bill was sure when he responded that they had just chased him.

It was during this time in Petersburg that Bill had his first opportunity to go hunting and shot his first deer. Bill and his father went out hunting on the Justna Deanna with his father's uncle Paul and Jack, Paul's oldest son. They were standing in a muskeg blowing a deer call when Bill saw the deer run up. No one else could see it, so his father told him to shoot it. He did. Jack and Bill had to lead their fathers back to the boat through the woods to test their sense of direction.

Petersburg turned out to be an interesting community. Bill's father had a few problems with customers where he worked as a machinist, but the boss was confident in William's ability to do the work required and gave the support necessary to gain acceptance. One of the other machinists at work and his family became very good friends with the Demmerts, and many hours were spent playing, picking berries, and working together. The oldest son fished with William on the Justna Deanna one year and proved to be an excellent fisherman.

An interesting memory for Bill is a debate he had with one of his Norwegian friends over the early Vikings and the Tlingits. Both groups were seafaring people, both very warlike, and both used small, open vessels with sails with which to travel the high seas.

Bill's grandfather, George, decided to build a limit seiner one winter and was finding it difficult to do the job by himself. World War II was just over, and his four youngest sons were still in the Army. William was the only son available to help build the boat. Bill and his family moved to Klawock that year so William could begin helping George. Bill entered school in Klawock that winter but remembers very little of what happened. The main event was the return of his uncles, when they were discharged from the service, and working on the boat, watching it take shape. Bill remembers having to hold a steel bar along the ribs of the vessel as his father or uncles nailed the planking on. This was to bend the nails over as they came through the oak ribs. There was still plenty of time for play, and one day, after playing around the cannery all morning, Bill stopped by the "boat house" on his way home for lunch. As Bill and his uncles started down the road for home, one of them pulled out a package of cigarettes and offered one to Bill. Bill refused the offer. The uncle then asked if he didn't smoke. The answer was, "No, I just quit." The uncle then said, "That's fine, because if you are going to smoke like a man then you are going to have to work like a man all day."[20] Bill made an agreement with his friends to help him quit by not offering him any cigarettes when they samoked and by reminding him (Bill) that he had quit.

One day, when George and his sons were debating the name of the boat, Bill's younger brother blurted out, "Name the boat Billy and I." The name stuck. The proposed name had been "Billy Boy."

Soon after the Billy and I was launched, the Demmert brothers decided to purchase a machine shop and property in Craig, so Bill moved to the public school in Craig.

Craig was a small but thriving village of about 500 people at the time. The population was an even mixture of Native and non-Native residents, with a large transient population working in the fishing industry as fishermen or cannery workers during the summers. Craig had two general stores, one drygoods store, a cannery operation, two oil docks, and an elementary school with grades one through eight. Craig also boasted two churches, a Presbyterian and Seventh Day Adventist; three liquore stores; two bars; and three restaruants. There were two military personnel working for the Alaska Communications System (ACS), the only way to get telegrams or telephone communications with the outside. There was also a weekly mail boat used for bringing regular mail and packages, groceries, and freight. Ellis Airlines served Craig with regularly scheduled flights, bringing in passengers, air mail, and some freight. On occasion, a public health nurse made her rounds from Ketchikan. There were no doctors. The Coast Guard or Ellis Air handled the emergencies for transportation to Ketchikan.

The school in Craig had four teachers, with the seventh/eighth grade teacher handling the administrative responsibilities. Bill started school as a fifth grader and found that several students in the fifth/sixth grade were related. Class assignments were found to be relatively easy, and Bill had little difficulty in any of his subjects -- spelling was probably his most difficult task. He never learned phonics, using word recognition as the basis for learning to read. The major school sports became basketball, volleyball, softball, and badminton. Other games like football, marbles, Indian baseball, and sword fighting were played after school and on weekends. Much time was also spent going out the road to Crab Bay Creek to fish for trout and salmon.

When Bill reached the seventh grade, his Uncle Embert was hired as the fifth/sixth grade teacher. One other uncle was teaching in Klawock.

Bill found his seventh and eighth grade years to be very satisfying. His grades were always average or better, and he found that his athletic ability offered him many opportunities to play a lead role in school activities as well as out-of-school activities. During the summers, he always made enough money to purchase the clothes he wanted, the bike he needed, and the other odds and ends that a kid likes to have. There were only five students in the seventh grade with him, and three of them in the eighth grade for the first half of the year. Another student from Hydaburg joined them during the last half of the year.

A few incidents do stand out from his school years in Craig. Some of his Native friends were not allowed to eat many of the Native foods because they attended a Seventh Day Adventist private school. There was also some competition between the two student bodies, which was not always friendly in nature. He remembers stopping a boy his own age from picking on a younger non-Native boy. The Wednesday evening bible school activities were a pleasant break in the quiet evenings, especially when coupled with the one or two evenings at school playing in the activity room practicing basketball, playing volleyball, boxing, or practicing ping-pong. Bill learned an important lesson at one of the boxing sessions. He found that size was not synonymous with skill or strength at that age. He met a kid smaller and faster than he was in the boxing ring and had trouble finding the target. Playing a lead role in the Christmas play and singing in the church Easter program had an impact in developing Bill's self-image and building confidence in his abilities (even though he could not sing and still can't).

The spring picnic and field day were the highlights of the school year and ended each grade on a high note.

HIGH SCHOOL

Since Craig did not have a high school when Bill Jr. was ready to start the ninth grade, he had to leave home to finish his schooling. The several choices open to him included Sheldon Jackson High School, located in Sitka; Mt. Edgecumbe High School, also located in Sitka; or a Bureau of Indian Affairs school in the "lower 48." He chose Sheldon Jackson.

The school was a Presbyterian mission school and was started in 1880 by Dr. Sheldon Jackson as a school for Alaskan Natives.[21] By the time Bill was ready to start the ninth grade, non-Natives were allowed to attend if they were from rural communities that did not have high schools. In addition, Sheldon Jackson was expanding to include the first two years of college. SJS, as the school was known, had about 150 students, all living on campus. A few Native students from Sitka also attended, even though they could now attend the public school. They also had to live in the dormitories.

Generally speaking, Bill found his experience at Sheldon Jackson to be stimulating. He did get homesick occasionally, but the fact that there were other students around all the time made it easier. Besides, there were other students from Craig, Klawock, and Hydaburg whom he had played with or competed against in sports while a student in Craig. The rules and regulations were not that much different from home; he had to keep his bed made, his room clean, and was not permitted to smoke or drink alcoholic beverages. He did have a nightly study hall during the week that he had to attend along with his other classmates, and he could not go to town any time he chose to do so. He and all the other students had certain days and evenings for going to town and an occasional day in between if special permission were given. He did have to go to church on Sunday and one evening a week without fail. In Craig he had chosen or not chosen to go as the demands of other activities or responsibilities allowed.

Bill found his teachers demanding, but fair. He had to stay in on the weekends occasionally for not finishing his homework or for not understanding an assignment. Again, Bill's grades were average or above. The social activities included folk dancing, movies in town, an occasional concert, and religious activities. He played basketball, softball, touch football, and participated in track. He especially liked the spring field day when everyone in the school participated in some activity. He also looked forward to the annual track competition between Sheldon Jackson and Mt. Edgecumbe. Even though he did not compete in those track meets, he had a cousin and a friend who usually did very well.

Bill found there were many students around who were better athletes than he was. They were bigger, stronger, and faster. It was still fun to compete, and he could always find other students at his level whom he could play with. During Bill's freshman year he was elected class president and took his job seriously. He was also a substitute on the freshman basketball team. On Saturday mornings he volunteered with several other students to help make hotcakes for breakfast for the whole student body.

Bill attended SJS for two years, then moved to another private school just outside of Seattle. His parents had talked him into attending this new school for the first half of the year in order to make it easier for his sister, who was just starting her freshman year and who was a little nervous about leaving Alaska. She had chosen King's Garden High School over Sheldon Jackson.

King's Garden High School, located north of Seattle, was a beautiful campus with many large old buildings. Like Sheldon Jackson, it was self-contained. It had its own laundry, dormitories, eating facilities, hospital, school nurse, and church services. It also had day students who rode the bus to and from school daily. The school work was not much different from what Bill had found at SJS, but he was not quite prepared for the religious aspect of the school. Many of the students and faculty were very vocal about being Christian and were part of a ministry that believed in being "born again." Like all good Tlingits, Bill and his sister adjusted to the new environment very quickly. Bill did a lot of observing and thinking about this new dimension to Christianity and watched the students who were the most vocal very closely. They were no better or no worse than other kids he had come to know in other schools.

Bill was beginning to find school work easier by this time. His average grades were "B" or better. He also found that he could compete easier with this new crop of boys. He had grown quite a bit over the summer, putting on weight and height simultaneously. Bill played basketball, softball, and some track that first year. The second year he played football, basketball, and softball again, with some track. During the school days and evenings after supper, he spent a lot of time playing ping-pong.

King's Garden, like Sheldon Jackson, required a certain amount of work around the campus during the evenings and weekends as part of one's responsibilities as a dorm student. That meant working in the kitchen, dining room, keeping the dormitories clean, and serving as a janitor for the classrooms.

The first year at King's, Bill was selected as a student body representative by his classmates and served as the student body treasurer. He was elected student body president the next year, when he was a senior. The principal of the high school sat down with Bill just after the election and talked to him about his responsibilities as a student body president in a Christian school. The principal and faculty were a little nervous about his being elected and not being from one of the established families from among the student body.

As the student body president for the high school, Bill found himself interacting with the faculty much more than he had ever done before. One incident stands out in his memory as significant. The student council had arranged to raise money through a paper drive in the early fall. The faculty had arbitrarily decided not to allow it and announced it to the student council. The council decided that it was not fair to cancel the drive without the council's direct involvement so requested Bill, as the president, to confront the faculty. Bill went to see the principal and pointed out that if they expected student government to work then they had to work with the council in the regular process of things and abide by decisions made during that process. It was pointed out that the faculty representative had made an error in judgment not to allow the drive to take place. Bill pointed out that, as their representative to the council, that was their problem, not the students. The council won their point and the paper drive took place.

Most of Bill's classmates were planning on attending college. Although Bill had assumed he would continue his schooling, he had never seriously considered what he wanted to study, nor had he contemplated where he wanted to go. Most of his immediate friends were planning on attending Seattle Pacific College, and since his basketball coach indicated he would put in a good word for him as a basketball player, Bill decided on Seattle Pacific.

COLLEGE

Bill attended three institutions of higher education during his college career. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Education from Seattle Pacific College, a Master's degree in School Administration from the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, and a Doctor of Education degree grom Harvard University.

Seattle Pacific was a small, Free Methodist teachers' college located in Seattle, Washington. It was possible to become acquainted with most of the students and faculty, especially those students who lived in the dormitories.

Bill found the work at Seattle Pacific very demanding and had trouble adjusting to the amount of time required for study and preparation. He was more interested in making the basketball team at the time and kept up with his class work only because he had to maintain a certain grade point average to continue playing on the team. Bill found college life exciting and, like both high school and elementary school, enjoyed the time spent there.

During Bill's second year at Seattle Pacific, the school's dean called him in to discuss his grade point average and informed

Bill that unless he was able to bring his grades up he would have to leave school. That spring quarter Bill brought up his grades to about a "B" average. He did not have much of a problem maintaining average or better grades after that quarter and, after a two-year hitch in the U.S. Army, graduated in the summer of 1961.

After teaching for five years (four years after graduation), Bill decided to pursue a Master's degree at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, primarily because he wanted to go to school in Alaska and make it his home. Again, university life proved to be very enjoyable. Bill found semesters much less hectic than quarters and had plenty of time to pursue his course work. He spent a significant amount of time working out at the gymnasium and hunting and fishing to supplement his income. Bill started school at the university in 1965 and obtained his Master's degree in 1967. He ended up going part time, because he did not have the finances required to go full time. He applied for and received part-time employment with the Fairbanks School District, later becoming a full-time teacher in the district.

The East Coast and Harvard proved to be a turning point in his life. He had been nominated by the then Commissioner of Education, Alaska Department of Education, for a special program at Harvard. Bill applied and was accepted into the American Indian Program (AIP) in the Graduate School of Education and completed his Certificate of Advanced Study in the required year. He had also applied for and was accepted in a doctoral program for an additional commitment of two years (they counted his first year at Harvard as meeting his first year residency requirement for the Administrative Career Program [ACP]). The program usually admitted twenty students per year for a doctorate in Educational Administration. The students were selected from around the world, with a certain number having to come from Massachusetts.

Harvard proved to be the most stimulating environment Bill had ever found himself in. The students were all very bright and knowledgeable. The faculty were very friendly and challenging, with many nationally known faculty members around to talk to.

Harvard also proved to be most flexible in terms of what it allowed its students to do. There were four experiences that had a major impact on Bill's professional life. The first was meeting other American Indian educators with a strong commitment to improving educational opportunities for Indian elementary and high school students; the second was having an opportunity to talk to Jerome Bruner and B.F. Skinner concerning their feelings about problems of educating American Indian students; the third was having an opportunity to work with the U.S. Senate as a consultant for legislation on Indian education; and the fourth was being invited to serve as the director of the AIP at the Harvard Graduate School of Education and an instructor in the extension school.

Out of a class of twenty-two (they had a larger class than usual that year), twenty of the ACP students graduated with doctorates in the minimum three years required to complete the program.

DISCUSSION

In retrospect, the practices that survived from the earlier Tlingit educational system and were still used by Bill's parents and family probably had a major influence in shaping Bill's attitudes, personality, and intellectual curiosity. The educational activities which were a responsibility of his grandmother laid an important cultural base. The importance placed on the tribe's songs, legends, and oral history helped establish the cultural base that is so important for a person to establish his/her identity. This base includes one's self-image, attitude toward life, and interpersonal skills. In addition, the learning that took place when berry picking, when fishing for subsistence purposes, and serving as the person responsible for transporting his grandmother to the berry grounds and to the smokehouse via rowboat probably instilled a sense of responsibility and attitude toward work that carried over when Bill's uncles assumed their roles as educators and carried over to Bill's formal educational process as well.

The practice of having the maternal uncles (or paternal in this instance) train the young men in skills important to survival and economics of the community was important for several reasons. It provided excellent role models for a young person to emulate. With the uncles serving as task masters, there was no room for failure -- one practiced the skills required until mastered. In addition, the interpersonal relationships between father and son could remain at a warm personal level until such time as the young male joined the adult world as a contributing member of the working communtiy. The role of disciplinarian did not interfere with a father/son relationship.

The traditional practice of expecting certain modes of behavior and levels of performance were not inconsistent with contemporary thought abut teacher expectations and its relationship to performance in the classroom. One's parents, clan members, and community expectations are powerful motivators in encouraging a young person to do something with his/her life; they can also be a traumatic deterrent if negative attitudes have developed and the traditional system no longer practiced. This is especially true if the formal system that young people have entered is not able to compensate or provide a suitable substitute for the traditional system developed earlier among the Tlingits.

The establishment of a strong cultural base, the development of positive attitudes towards the world of work, a strong belief that one must meet certain expectations, and having one's intellectual curiosity stimulated very early in life all have an impact on levels of success of an individual. It appears that when the family has a direct role in that process, the motivation for success in teaching ought to be very high. When those responsibilities have been assumed or transferred to others in a formal educational setting, the commitment and skill level of teachers become major factors in the success or failure of students, especially if the values and expectations of that teacher are appropriate to the community in question. In addition, unless families continue at minimum an indirect role, their children will suffer.

Contemporary research is beginning to identify characteristics of successful practices in the educational setting. Jerome Bruner tells us that children can begin picking up attitudes as early as age two; that any child can be taught, at any age, at some level of sophistication; and that the culture of a people is passed on in the educational process.

Dr. Bruner has also stated that if he could reconstruct the educational system he would include an opportunity for students to see their parents at work and, if possible, to have students work with adults as part of their educational program.[22] B.F. Skinner has been a strong advocate of contingencies and reward for success.[23] Researchers are telling us that if we want a kid to learn math, then we must spend more time teaching that student math. We are also told that a sense of ownership in a program is important, and that parent participation can instill that sense of ownership. We now know that organization of one's instructional day can made a difference in improving academic achievement among students, and that a teacher's warmth and ability to communicate non-verbally with students can be very successful with some students.[24]

We now know that an expectant mother's diet can have an impact on the physical development of a child, and that smoking, alcohol, and drugs all influence what an unborn fetus becomes. We know that a mother (or her substitute) has the greatest single influence on a child's development.[25] We have learned that larger does not always mean better; large schools have problems with kids that are not evident in smaller schools. We are also beginning to understand that cultural and individual differences may call for different learning environments and teaching techniques.[26]

When educators look to the history of education in Alaska and go back far enough, they will find systems that had a lot to offer in the way of conventional wisdom. Many of the practices were built on successful experiences of the past, and those practices are consistent with good educational practices of today.

NOTES -- Demmert

1. William G. Demmert, Jr., "Indian Education: Where and Whither?" American Education, 12(August-September, 1976):6-9. The Education Digest, 42(December, 1976):41-44.

2. The Eagle clan is also referred to as the Wolf clan in some parts of the Tlingit Nation.

3. Descent is passed on through the mother instead of the father.

4. Personal observation among the Tak-wa-na-dee's.

5. Aurel Krause, The Tlingit Indians, translated by Erna Gunther (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1956), p. 112.

6. Ibid., p. 161. Theresa Mayer Durlach, The Relationship System of the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian (Macon, France: Protat Brothers, 1927), p. 33.

7. William G. Demmert, Jr., "Part One: Goals and Perspectives of the American Indian in Education," Indian Voices: The Native American Today (American Indian Historical Society: Indian Historian Press, 1974), pp. 30-35.

8. Krause, Tlingit Indians, p. 152.

9. Personal experiences occurring during author's childhood.

10. Referred to by Ralph James of Craig.

11. Krause, Tlingit Indians, p. 7.

12. Referred to by different members of the Tak-wa-na-dee tribal members during author's adolescence.

13. Krause, Tlingit Indians.

14. Ibid., pp. 50-53.

15. Teachings by the author's grandmother, Lillian Demmert (Sit-guay).

16. Common knowledge passed on by residents of Klawock, Alaska.

17. Common knowledge passed on by residents of Klawock, Alaska.

18. Personal analysis and observation by the author.

19. When Bill first started fishing at the age of nine, his

uncles were in the Army and he fished with his father.

20. One of Bill's relatives had not been allowed to play with the group one morning, so he got even by telling Bill's uncles about the smoking.

21. Sheldon Jackson, Report on Education in Alaska (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1886), p. 21.

22. Personal discussions between the author and Jerome Bruner while the author was a student at Harvard University.

23. Personal discussions between the author and B.F. Skinner while the author was a student at Harvard University.

24. Charles W. Fisher, David C. Berliner, et al., "Teaching Behaviors, Academic Learning Time, and Student Achievement: An Overview," Time to Learn, edited by Carolyn Denham and Ann Lieberman, U.S. Department of Education, May, 1980, p. 12.

25. Urie Bronfenbrenner, Is Early Intervention Effective? A Report on Longitudenal Evaluation of Pre-School Programs, VII, DHEW Publication, 1975.

26. Jerome Bruner, Interviewed by Elizabeth Hall, "Schooling Children in a Nasty Climate," Psychology Today, 16(January, 1982): 60. Analysis of Commissioner of Education, Department of Education, State of Alaska, Marshall Lind, April 20, 1982. Paul A. Goodwin and James M. Orvik, "Cross-Cultural Aspects of Academic Performance: Implications for the Sciences," Cross Cultural Issues in Alaskan Education, edited by Ray Barnhardt (University of Alaska, Fairbanks: Center for Noerthern Educational Research, 1977), pp. 120-32.

A NEW METHOD OF EDUCATION: AN ALASKA EXPERIENCE IN EDUCATIONAL/PUBLIC BROADCASTING

Charles M. Northrip

Noncommercial broadcasting in the United States is able to trace its origins to the earliest turn-of-the-century experimentation with radio. Alaska public broadcasting, by comparison, is a fairly recent development. Alaska commercial broadcasting pioneers operated stations during territorial days. The first public station, however, did not begin service until three years after statehood.

KUAC, an FM station licensed to the University of Alaska in Fairbanks, signed on for the first time on September 29, 1962. The station was a joint effort of the University's Departments of Speech and Drama and Electrical Engineering. KUAC led a lonely existence as Alaska's only public station throughout the 1960's. During that time, the station increased its power and converted to stereo. It was also among the first sixty-five stations in the United States which, in 1969, qualified to receive support from the new Corporation for Public Broadcasting. It was also a charter member of National Public Radio.

Interest in public broadcasting on a statewide level was sparked in 1962 by the passage of the first federal assistance program for public television, the Educational Television Facilities Act. Governor William A. Egan appointed a committee, consisting of a university official and several commercial broadcasters, to investigate how Alaska might take advantage of the new federal program. The committee reported that the funds were available only on a 50% matching basis and could only be used for equipment, leaving building costs and annual operating costs to the state. As a result of the report, Governor Egan determined not to pursue the matter, due to Alaska's then meager revenues and pressing needs in other areas.

In 1967, a committee, appointed by Commissioner of Education Cliff Hartman, drafted proposed language for an act to create an Alaska Educational Broadcasting Commission. The proposed act was introduced in the Alaska Legislature by Governor Hickel. The legislation did not pass in either session of the fifth legislature.

During the Hickel administration, much attention was focused on the potential of satellite communications to solve problems created by Alaska's vast distances and rugged terrain. A Satellite Communications Task Force, chaired by A. G. Hiebert of Northern Television, Inc., was instrumental in the decision by Comsat to establish Alaska's first satellite earth station at Talkeetna. The Satellite Task Force later became a subcommittee of the Alaska Educational Broadcasting Commission.

The obvious possibilities of satellite distribution of educational material generated a proposal in 1969 by U.S. Senator Mike Gravel for a minimum of three additional earth stations to receive and transmit educational material. Governor Keith Miller assigned the exploration of that idea to a new educational broadcasting committee he had appointed when the proposed act creating the Educational Broadcasting Commission failed to pass the legislature. Even though Gravel's proposal never came to fruition, the satellite issue provided a much higher level of visibility for the committee's efforts, and legislation virtually identical to that which failed in 1967 and 1968 passed the legislature in 1970.

The Miller-appointed committee began meeting in the spring of 1969. It was chaired by Education's Commissioner Hartman and had four additional members: A. G. Hiebert, Lee H. Salisbury, Flore Lekanof, and Don Fridley. In the summer of 1969, the group appointed Charles M. Northrip as its first executive director. Northrip had been general manager of KUAC (FM) in Fairbanks. The new group had no budget or office space. The University of Alaska in Fairbanks offered free office space, and the Department of Education made short-term funding available. The Rockefeller Foundation also provided funds to support the committee in its first year of operation. When the commission's authorizing legislation passed the 1970 legislature, state funding was assured, beginning in July of 1970.

The need for radio service in Alaska's rural areas was apparent to the new committee. In December, 1969, it began discussing an idea for a public radio station in Bethel, to serve the vast and sparsely populated area of Southwest Alaska. By April, 1970, a nonprofit corporation had been formed in the Bethel area to act as licensee for the new station. The Miller administration requested state funds for a portion of the equipment costs, and Northrip submitted an application to the FCC for an AM radio station construction permit and an application to the newly broadened Educational Broadcasting Facilities Program (EBFP) for federal assistance in the purchase of equipment for the station. (The Educational Television Facilities Act had been amended to include funds for radio facilities and to allow the federal share to be as high as 75%.)

The creation of a nonprofit corporation to serve as the licensee for the Bethel station set an important precedent for the way in which state support for public broadcasting would be accomplished in Alaska. State funds for equipping and operating stations were to be appropriated to the new Alaska Educational Broadcasting Commission (AEBC). The creating legislation, however, prohibited the AEBC from being the owner, operator, or licensee of any station or production facility unless "no other competent contracting agency exists." The formation of the community nonprofit corporation at Bethel created an entity which could receive funds for the station from the state. More importantly, such a corporation, formed solely to operate a public station and governed by a board of local people, set a pattern for similar developments in other communities. This provided the solid, community-oriented base that is now one of the outstanding features of public broadcasting in Alaska.

KYUK in Bethel went on the air May 13, 1971. The station used an AM frequency which allowed the station to cover the many villages within a 100-mile radius of the transmitter. News and other programs, both in the Yupik Eskimo dialect and in English, were among the unique aspects of its program schedule. Since no other radio signals could be reliably received, KYUK provided a wide variety of music and other programming, some of which is usually heard on commercial stations. The state supported the concept of a Bethel public station, since the population to be served was far too small and widely separated to make a commercial operation viable.

During the same period that KYUK was being constructed, the University of Alaska was proceeding with applications to the FCC and the EBFP for authority and equipment funds for Alaska's first public television station. The EBFT grant was awarded in January, 1971, and KUAC-TV, Channel 9, signed on for the first time on December 22, 1971. The first EBFP grant to an Alaska station was awarded to KUAC (FM) in May of 1970 for production and control room improvements.

Meanwhile, with the passage of its creating legislation, the new nine-member Educational Broadcasting Commission was appointed by Governor Miller in September, 1970. Two members of the original committee were appointed to the commission: Cliff Hartman and A. G. Hiebert. The additional members were Charles L. Buck of Juneau; John C. Hughes, Stowell R. Johnstone, Frank M. Reed, Sr., and Larry L. Motz of Anchorage; Donald L. Nelson of North Pole; and Arthur S. Buswell of Fairbanks. Johnstone was elected chairman of the commission at its first meeting on October 22, 1970. He has been reelected to that post each year through 1982.

The commission affirmed the original committee's initiatives related to the creation of an AM station in the Bethel area and support for the university's radio and television efforts. It also affirmed Northrip as its executive director and gave approval to his suggestion of an experiment to use low-power VHF transmission as a means of providing television service to Alaska's hundreds of small villages.

The new commission's membership was substantially changed following the election of William A. Egan to the Governorship in November, 1970. Since the Miller appointees had not yet been confirmed by the legislature, Egan withdrew the names as soon as he took office in January, 1971. The slate which he submitted to the legislature contained only two members from the first nine-member group, Johnstone and Hiebert. The new Egan appointees included one member of the original five-member committee, Lee H. Salisbury of Fairbanks, and six new names: Dennis W. Egan of Juneau, Marshall L. Lind of Kodiak, Katherine W. Fanning and Patricia Soll of Anchorage, William B. Zahradnicek of Bethel, and Tim N. Wallis of Fairbanks. Subsequent commissioners, after confirmation by the legislature, have served five-year terms, with no more than three seats falling vacant in any one year.

The new Egan-appointed commission held its first meeting on April 29, 1971. At that time it accepted the resignation of Northrip as executive director and appointed Robert D. Arnold of Anchorage to that position. The group also voted to move the commission offices to Anchorage, where they remained until being moved to Juneau in 1981.

During the early part of 1971, plans began for additional public broadcasting stations. In January, a meeting arranged by the AEBC in Kotzebue resulted in the formation of a local committee to explore ways to bring public radio, and perhaps television, to that area. In Anchorage, the AEBC began co-ordinating efforts by the school districts in the Anchorage area, the University of Alaska, Alaska Methodist University, arts groups and others interested in constructing a public television station to serve the area. In addition, individuals in Bethel were already making plans to add public television to the KYUK radio operation. From this point, Alaska's public broadcasting history can best be told through the circumstances surrounding the various stations and other commission initiatives.

KOTZ (AM)

The formation of Kotzebue Broadcasting, Inc. as the licensee group for KOTZ was patterned after the KYUK development. Following the January, 1971, meeting arranged by the AEBC, a local group of interested citizens continued to pursue the possibilities of a public radio station. The group included Mabel Walsh, Mayor of Kotzebue; Charles Perry, Principal of the BIA school; June Nelson and Martha Shield, both school board members; and some teachers at the school.

Kotzebue Broadcasting, Inc. was incorporated on November 19, 1971. Its first board meeting was held on November 26, 1971, with June Nelson serving as chair. The new group, with help from the AEBC, applied for equipment funds from the Federal EBFP and for a construction permit from the FCC. The EBFP grant was awarded in 1972, and the group's first funding from the AEBC was received in the same year. David Moore, former manager of KYUK, was employed as manager.

KOTZ signed on for the first time in March of 1973. An unfortunate accident led to the burning of the station's transmitter shortly thereafter. After reconstructing its transmitter building and installing a new transmitter, the station returned to the air in July of the same year. Alex Hills replaced Moore as station manager during the off-the-air period. KOTZ operates at a power of 5,000 watts. The station became CPB qualified and a member of NPR in 1974.

KYUK-TV

In 1971, RCA Alascom proposed to the governor that it could provide television by microwave to twelve locations in Southwest Alaska. The proposal envisioned TV transmitters owned by the state at each of the locations. The RCA charges were estimated to be $667,000.00 per year for ten years.

The governor suggested to Representative George Hohman, then Chairman of the House Finance Committee, that alternate means be found to provide educational television for Southwest Alaska. The legislature then added $627,000.00 to the AEBC's FY72 budget for a lower Kuskokwim educational television network. That appropriation eventually led to grants to Bethel Broadcasting, Inc., the licensee of KYUK (radio), for the construction and operation of KYUK-TV. The station first went on the air on a low-power basis in September of 1972. Its channel 4, 4.68-kw signal began operating in August of 1973.

KTOO (FM)-TV

A local Juneau group incorporated as Capital Community Broadcasting in 1972, with Elaine Mitchell as president. The new group first sought membership subscriptions from the local community before going to the AEBC for state support. That practice has been followed by several subsequent applicants for AEBC assistance. The 1973 legislature provided a $25,000.00 grant for equipment for a 10-watt FM station to be operated by CCBI. The grant was made through the AEBC and was released at the beginning of FY74 (July, 1973).

KTOO (FM) signed on the air on January 27, 1974. The station was housed in the Juneau-Douglas High School and operated at 104.3 mhz. First AEBC operating support for KTOO came in FY75. In August of 1976, the CCBI board decided to attempt to activate a public television station to serve the Juneau area. It hired Charles Northrip as general manager of both radio and television activities at that time.

In February of 1977, the radio station's studios moved to larger quarters in downtown Juneau, and it became an NPR member and qualified to receive CPB support.

In the fall of 1976, the CCBI board had applied to the AEBC to provide television coverage of the 1977 legislature. The approval of the application by the commission resulted in the construction of television facilities at CCBI's new downtown location. Using matching contributions of TV equipment donated to it by the legislature and the AEBC, CCBI applied to EBFP for funds to activate a television station to serve the Juneau area. At the same time, the radio station applied for an EBFP grant to upgrade its production facilities and increase its power.

Both grants were awarded. KTOO-TV signed on the air on October 1, 1978. The radio station's power increase became effective on October 18, 1978. In 1979, both stations moved to the studio and office spaces they now occupy.

KAKM (TV)

Even though plans were underway for a PTV station to serve the Anchorage area in early 1971, the station did not become a reality until 1975. A combination of factors caused the delay.

Planning for Anchorage PTV was first undertaken by the Southcentral Alaska Educational Broadcasting Association (SCAEBA), a group composed of the universities and school districts in the Anchorage area. Headed by William McCaughn, the group requested assistance from the AEBC and directly from the legislature for funds to activate a PTV station. The 1972 legislature appropriated $556,000.00 for Southcentral Alaska ITV to the AEBC. The appropriation specified, however, that the funds could not be spent unless a Federal grant totalling at least 35% of that amount was received for Southcentral PTV.

By this time, EBFP priority guidelines had been changed to favor improving existing stations rather than creating new ones. A federal grant to assist in activating the station was not likely. The AEBC sought unsuccessfully to have the Federal match requirement dropped during the interim period following the 1972 legislature. It also requested $125,000.00 for FY74 to begin design work for the station.

In response to criticism that SCAEBA was an organization too closely connected to educational interests, particularly the University of Alaska, the group changed its articles of incorporation and its name in November of 1973. SCAEBA became Alaska Public Television, Inc. (APT), began accepting individual memberships, and placed public members on its board of directors.

During the second half of 1974, the matching requirement on the state appropriation was dropped, thereby making the funds available to the station. Ironically, the group also received a $571,439.00 federal grant during the same period.

KAKM signed on for the first time on May 7, 1975. During its first full year of operation, it distinguished itself as the station with the second highest per capita local support in the nation. No station in its first year had ever before secured that amount of local support so early in its history. All Alaska public stations which solicit local membership support now boast per capita figures that are consistently among the highest in the U. S.

Regular operating support for KAKM by the AEBC began in FY76.

KDLG (AM)

In 1971, Dillingham High School teacher Bob Cherry began teaching his students how to use tape recorders to produce radio programs. In 1972, he decided it would be a good idea to build a radio station and broadcast the programs to everyone. He applied to the Alaska Department of Education and the federal government for money to fund project "SERVE" (Student Educational Radio -- Village Extension). In 1973, the Dillingham City School District received a federal grant (Elementary/Secondary Education Act) to construct and operate a five-kilowatt AM educational radio station. The AEBC provided advisory support.

By early 1975, the students at the high school had selected their call letters -- KDLG. On July 22, 1975, with the aid of federal, local and AEBC funds, the station signed on the air with two paid employees and a number of high school students. The first two months of broadcasting were achieved with an antenna consisting of a piece of wire on top of the Dillingham High School. In the fall of 1975, a 350-foot tower was erected. A year later, due to demands for an increased broadcast day, a staff of five full-time employees was added, and in 1977 the Corporation for Public Broadcasting qualified KDLG to receive community service grants.

In addition to providing Bristol Bay with its only radio signal and fulltime broadcasting services, KDLG continues to play an active role in the training of youth from many villages and in regular classroom training for Dillingham students. Bob Cherry continues to teach in Dillingham and is a regular listener.

KBRW (AM)

The AEBC first set aside funds for a Barrow radio station in July of 1974. The amount was $10,000.00. In that same month, Silak-Kuagvik Communications, Inc. filed its incorporation documents with assistance from the AEBC and the North Slope Borough.

The technical problems of constructing a radio station in Barrow were considerable. The AEBC's consulting engineers recommended a 10,000-watt AM installation. $180,000.00 was available in FY75 for construction. Operating funds for FY76 totalled $94,500.00.

KBRW signed on the air for the first time on December 22, 1975.

KMXT (FM)

AEBC funds for public radio service in Kodiak were allocated at the same time start-up activities in Barrow were approved by the commission. During July of 1974, Kodiak Public Broadcasting, Inc. was incorporated. Initial funds for both the Kodiak and Barrow stations were appropriated on the legislature's own initiative. The AEBC, however, welcomed the appropriations, since its plans called for stations in both locations.

Unlike KBRW, the Kodiak station did not receive full capital funding from the state, and an application was submitted to EBFP for an equipment grant. The Kodiak application called for an FM rather than an AM grant.

The AEBC provided $94,500.00 to the Kodiak station effort in FY76. The station received a construction permit in late 1975, and went on the air on June 1, 1976.

KRBD (FM)

In FY75 a "mini-grant" of $1,500.00 was made by the AEBC to assist start-up activities for a public radio station in Ketchikan. The grant was made to Rainbird Community Broadcasting, Inc., a group formed in Ketchikan with Tom Shackle as president.

The commission continued to support Rainbird's efforts with a $32,000.00 grant for FY76. The Ketchikan station's FCC application was granted in early 1976. Like KTOO in Juneau, KRBD in Ketchikan began as a ten-watt operation. The first on-air date was May 22, 1976. In 1979, the station increased its power to 7,000 watts.

KSTK (FM)

In FY77, the AEBC began supporting the Wrangell Radio group, a nonprofit membership corporation created in January of 1975, in its efforts to activate a ten-watt FM station to serve the community of Wrangell. Phil Wayne was president of the new corporation.

Like Ketchikan, the Wrangell station began with relatively small amounts of AEBC funding and depended heavily on volunteers. Its original production equipment was of marginal quality, some of it more appropriate for home use than for long hours of daily professional use. KTOO (FM), KRBD, KSTK, and KFSK (discussed below) all found that their original equipment required replacement or additions quite early in the history of each station. KSTK signed on the air July 2, 1977. As with Ketchikan and Juneau, the Wrangell station increased its power to 3,000 watts in 1979.

KFSK (FM)

Narrows Broadcasting, Inc. in Petersburg began activity toward establishing a ten-watt public radio station in late 1975. Original discussions about such a station occurred in the local little theater group, Mitkof Mummers, led by Sandy Slack and others. AEBC support began in July of 1976. Even though interest in a station for Petersburg and AEBC funding were about a year later than the same activity in Wrangell, the Petersburg station began broadcasting only two months later than KSTK. KFSK in Petersburg went on the air in September of 1977. Actual construction of the station was carried out by and under the supervision of Al Champagne, a volunteer, member of the original station board, and an Alascom technician. KFSK found its original power and quantity of production equipment inadequate. The station was increasing its power and adding production equipment in 1982.

AEBC becomes APBC

The 1976 legislature approved amendments to the AEBC enabling legislation which encouraged the commission to take a more active role in coordinating statewide public broadcasting efforts. The amendments also gave the commission responsibility for a statewide network.

The most obvious result of the amendments was the change in the commission's name. Beginning in FY77, the agency was named the Alaska Public Broadcasting Commission (APBC).

KSKA (FM)

In December of 1974, the University of Alaska in Anchorage proposed that the AEBC recognize it as the licensee of an FM public station in Anchorage and allow UAA to be the recipient of grant funds. Bill McCaughn of the Anchorage Community College staff pointed out that the University had been seeking to begin such a station for several years.

Representatives of KAKM, the soon-to-be-on-the-air public TV station in Anchorage, also expressed interest in serving as the licensee for an Anchorage FM station. Since members of the AEBC felt that there might be other groups wishing to serve as licensee, no action was taken on the University of Alaska's proposal. In an action new to commission procedures, the AEBC appointed a committee chaired by Carolyn Guess to publicize the possibility of a public station in Anchorage and to evaluate any proposals that might be submitted by groups wishing to serve as licensee.

By September of 1975, the committee had received four expressions of interest. Its recommendation to the full commission was that a new membership-based nonprofit corporation, Aurora Community Broadcasting, Inc., be designated by the AEBC as the recipient of state support for an Anchorage FM station. The commission adopted the recommendation.

Petitioning the FCC for an FM channel assignment before applying for a construction permit delayed the activation of the Anchorage station. KSKA (FM) began broadcasting on August 15, 1978.

KBBI (AM)

Kachemak Bay Broadcasters, Inc., the prospective licensee for a public radio station in Homer, incorporated in 1976. The group received start-up funds from the APBC in FY77. The funds originally had been appropriated by the legislature for a Soldotna facility, but with both legislative and APBC approval the funds were set aside for work toward a Homer station.

Bev Monroe and Kevin Hogan played leading roles in the development of the Homer station. After a year's delay, due to lack of appropriation from the legislature, KBBI signed on in August of 1979.

The station would have signed on about a month earlier, but for a rather unique freight delivery problem. The last necessary crate arrived and should have contained an antenna tuning unit. Instead, the station engineer found a corn grinder! He was almost as frustrated as the midwestern farmer who was trying to discover how to grind corn with an antenna tuning unit. KBBI became CPB qualified on January 1, 1982.

KHNS (FM)

In early 1978, Lynn Canal Broadcasting, Inc. filed its articles of incorporation. The group, including Harold Hopper, Debra Schnabel, and Ray Menaker, was formed to activate an FM station to serve the Haines/Skagway area of Southeast Alaska. APBC staff visited the area during the winter of 1978.

The APBC provided funds in FY80 that allowed Lynn Canal Broadcasting to accomplish planning and design work and set aside an amount for matching purposes, since the group planned to seek an equipment grant from the Public Telecommunications Facilities Program (PTFP -- the Educational Broadcasting Facilities Program now had a new name). The grant was awarded, and KHNS went on the air, at a power of 3,000 watts, in makeshift quarters on October 4, 1980. In April of 1981, the station moved to its permanent home in the Chilkat Center for the Arts. It anticipates becoming CPB qualified in the near future.

KSKO (AM)

Michael Harrington of McGrath first approached the APBC on June 29, 1977, with a request for support of a public radio station in McGrath. An APBC staff visit to McGrath was made in January of 1978.

Capital funds in the amount of $40,000.00 were provided to

Kuskokwim Public Broadcasting in FY79. Additional grants of $33,000.00 in FY80 and $100,000.00 in FY81 followed. KSKO began broadcasting on July 1, 1981 with a power of 5,000 watts.

KCAW (FM)

Raven Radio Foundation in Sitka was incorporated in February of 1978. Its purpose was to activate a public radio station to serve the Sitka area. Todd Davis, the motivating force behind Raven Radio, was killed in a climbing accident in the spring of 1978, and the group became inactive.

In early 1979, a new board for the corporation was formed with J. W. Steffen as chair and Marika Partridge as president. Amended articles of incorporation were filed, and the group began working with the APBC staff toward the activation of a station. Necessary FCC and PTFP applications were filed in late 1979.

In July of 1980, the APBC awarded operating and capital grants to the Sitka group. The capital grant was used as matching for a PTFP grant which the station received in the fall of 1980. Staff for the station began to be hired in the fall of 1980 as construction of the facility began. KCAW signed on in February, 1982. A modification of the station's FCC construction permit caused about a six-month delay in sign-on, but the modification resulted in substantial monetary savings and a more complete installation.

Current Activity

In addition to the Sitka station, the APBC is beginning a type of public radio service called "repeater" radio stations. The first of this type will go on the air in Sand Point in FY83. Other possible repeater sites include Unalakleet, Unalaska, and the Kenai/Soldotna area. Funding, either operating or capital, is not yet totally available for those installations.

Mini-TV/Satellite System

The APBC no longer has any responsibility for the satellite system which delivers television to lower-power TV transmitters in rural Alaska, but the commission played a major role in establishing the system.

It was through an APBC experimental project, conducted by former Executive Director Charles Northrip in 1971, that the feasibility of using ten-watt VHF TV transmitters to provide rural television was established. Grants to the commission by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting led to the construction of the first mini-TV stations in St. Paul, Unalaska, and Fort Yukon. These stations were supplied with videotaped programs by mail, since satellite delivery was not yet possible.

When the 1975 legislature provided funds for full-time leasing of a satellite transponder, the existing mini-stations were able to convert from taped to "live" satellite delivery. The APBC was instrumental in working out arrangements with Anchorage network affiliates to make taped, off-air recordings of their programs available to the rural TV system.

The delay center in Anchorage which transmitted the recorded programs to the satellite and then on to rural locations was operated by the APBC until June 30, 1981. Executive Director Michael Porcaro was instrumental in the creation of the Alaska Mini-TV Association, which later became the Rural Alaska Television Network (RATNET) and made program selections for rural viewers.

Alaska Public Radio Network

Efforts at sharing programs among the public stations in Alaska began almost as soon as there was more than one station. In October and November of 1973, Frederick Hoskinson, Dennis Harris and Elaine Mitchell provided daily telephone reports on the activities of a special session of the legislature to KUAC, KYUK and KOTZ. Hoskinson, Harris and Mitchell were all involved in the founding of KTOO in Juneau. The AEBC provided the funds for the daily telephone calls from Juneau to the stations. The three stations paid $500.00 for the reports. This money was donated by the reporters to KTOO.

Elaine Mitchell continued the legislative reporting effort during the regular session of 1974. She provided a daily, fifteen-minute report to the public radio stations then in existence. She collected fees for her work directly from the using stations. The AEBC again paid the phone bill.

During the 1975 session, under the leadership of new AEBC Executive Director Marvin Weatherly, regular broadcast circuits were leased for a daily, ten-minute report from the legislature. Mitchell again served as reporter. Funds were available for only a one-month trial of the system. Weatherly utilized the trial as a demonstration that Alaskans would listen to news reports over a standard telephone company voice-grade circuit. Up to that time, NPR had refused to allow its programs to be distributed in Alaska unless the line quality was five kHz or better. Thanks to that experiment, and other work by the AEBC and Alaska stations, NPR programs were made available to non-NPR member public stations over APBC-financed telephone circuits beginning in 1977. When the one-month trial was completed, Mitchell continued to provide daily reports by placing individual phone calls to stations.

Prior to the 1976 session, Elaine Mitchell was appointed to membership on the AEBC and withdrew from legislative reporting activity. During that session, KTOO provided daily reports to all stations through a contract with the AEBC. The commission, under Executive Director Jim Croll, established a Code-A-Phone in its Anchorage office on which KTOO reporter Bill Woolf recorded his report each day. Using stations simply called a special number and the report was played back to them.

In 1977, under contract to the APBC, KTOO provided live coverage of legislative hearings and sessions to all stations over dedicated Alaska Public Radio Network lines. KTOO's Marcia Alvar hosted the first interactive legislative hearing in the state's history when House Commerce Committee hearings on the "Bottle Bill" were broadcast statewide, and citizens could testify by telephone over a toll-free line.

Regular daily coverage of the 1977 legislature was provided on television by KTOO's Capital '77. The audio portion of the program was provided to all public radio stations. The audio half of the TV program did not make for very descriptive radio, particulary when the program featured ten minutes of a mime entertaining legislators and radio listeners got ten minutes of dead air! By this time, the APRN line was used to provide NPR programs to all stations.

The Alaska Public Radio Network expanded its service in FY78 when it began providing year-round programming. KTOO, with contract support from the APBC and additional personnel through the CETA program, began a daily actuality service to all stations and created Capital Connection, a daily, fifteen-minute report on legislative activity. Dennis Harris served as first director of the network, and Betsy Brenneman produced the daily legislative program.

During the summer of 1978, all the public radio stations created a corporate identity for APRN, with station managers serving as members of its board of directors. Bill Weeks, then manager of KBRW (AM), Barrow, was elected as the first president. The headquarters of the network were moved from Juneau to Anchorage and housed in the APBC offices. Theda S. Pittman was named executive director of APRN in the fall of 1978. The network continued to be funded by grants from the APBC. Capital Connection continued during the 1979 session from a separate Juneau studio. The program continued in the 1980 and 1981 sessions as well.

Alaska News Nightly, a daily, thirty-minute news and public affairs program featuring reports from all Alaska public stations, became APRN's flagship program on September 4, 1979. New Executive Director Don Byron and reporter Marcia Alvar produced the program. APRN has provided additional programs to its member stations since Alaska News Nightly began. Alvar succeeded Byron as APRN Executive Director in March of 1980.

In FY82, the APBC stopped making direct grants for APRN support. The network is funded by dues paid by each member station. This arrangement assures that APRN either provides services desired by its members, or faces the threat of decreased funding if member stations seek similar programming elsewhere.

By August, 1983, APRN had installed satellite receiving stations at all non-CPB qualified radio stations. Those receivers, combined with receivers already at all qualified stations and a new satellite uplink provided by state funds at network headquarters, made the APRN the first state network utilizing high quality satellite distribution.

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EDUCATION IN ALASKA:
A THIRTY-ONE YEAR PERSPECTIVE

Charles Ray

I was very flattered and pleased to be asked to talk this evening with members of the Alaska Historical Society. My pleasure was only partially diminished by the realization that this invitation is based on my status as a living relic. However, life is filled with peaks and valleys, as you all know. Recalling one of my valleys, I was addressing a community group in a fishing village in Southeastern Alaska many years ago and was being introduced by the president of the local school board. He was a great fisherman but was terribly ill at ease in speaking before an audience. So, after a few halting attempts to provide information outlining my qualifications to deal with the subject at hand, he gave up by commenting, "Well, I'm not going to stand up here any longer and make a damned fool of myself. That's what we brought this fellow from the university down here to do."

But I am grateful to have been involved in Alaskan education for over thirty years and am consoled by the words of Jonathan Swift, who said, "No wise man ever wished to be younger." And while I do not claim to be wise, I have been very lucky to have been in a developing territory and state during an era when an individual with modest qualifications could be involved in an enormous number of exciting and important activities.

Since I arrived on the educational scene in Alaska in 1951 as a teaching principal in Savoonga, St. Lawrence Island, I will use 1951 as my benchmark and attempt to create something of a verbal montage, maintaining -- if I am lucky -- a consistent theme focusing on the most significant events and changes which have occurred in Alaskan public education during the past thirty-one years.

If you are like I am, you enjoy having a roadmap of sorts to use in following a talk. So I have divided the areas of change and major impact that I will discuss into four broad categories: (1) levels of financial support, (2) technology and communication (or isolation vs. access), (3) outreach programs -- e.g., availability of education services, and (4) leadership, authority, and control of education. So as a rough guide, when I get to the third area, you will know that we are about half through, at the start of category four about three-quarters through, etc. Such an organization helps you pace yourselves and to know when to start putting your shoes back on.

Starting logically with number one, the level of financial support enjoyed by education today clearly exceeds anyone's wildest expectations when viewed from the 1950's. Let me give you some numbers. In 1951-1952, operating expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance were $359.00 in schools outside incorporated towns and districts and $334.00 in city and district schools.[1] For the 1981-1982 school year, the State of Alaska reported expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance at $6,015.00.[2] With the help of a friendly University of Alaska economist, I deflated current dollars (or inflated 1951 dollars, if you prefer) and discovered that this increase in constant monetary units amounts to a hefty 600% increase, give or take a few dollars.

Interesting to me, and perhaps not surprising to you, the increased financial support for teachers' salaries rose markedly but at not even the approximate ratio of overall support just described. Utilizing the beginning teacher's salary in Fairbanks as the point of comparison between 1951 and 1981, this hypothetical beginning teacher gained 40% in constant dollars. Fairbanks' teachers at the top of the salary scale did better by doubling their purchasing power. But the vast amount of support went not toward increasing the salary of the individual teacher but rather toward increasing the number of personnel in the schools and the amount of support services in both state and federally operated schools. An example will illustrate the point.

When my wife and I arrived in Savoonga in 1951, we had ninety pupils enrolled in grades K-8. Two of us and one local teacher aide comprised the entire school faculty. Today, in Savoonga, one hundred and three pupils are enrolled in grades K-8; but in the elementary school alone there are six teachers, a full-time principal, and eight instructional aides.

No implication is intended that these increased expenditures in education are not warranted or justified; nor am I romanticizing for a return to the good old days that weren't. Conversely, I am reminded of the words of Sophie Tucker, who remarked, "I've been rich and I've been poor. Rich is better." So I am delighted Alaska has additional resources and that many of these resources are being directed toward improvement of education. However, as Tom Wicker once said, "Governments expand to absorb revenues -- and then some!" Therefore, we must concern ourselves with cost effectiveness and the optimum level of funding before reaching a point of diminishing returns.

The state legislature in 1980 felt compelled to address the issue of cost effectiveness in a rather indirect manner by passing a law requiring each school district to spend a minimum of fifty-five percent of its operating budget on instruction.[3] And many districts regularly seek exception to this law, which again illustrates the high proportion of money directed to educational support services at the present time in Alaska.

A second broad area of change and development might be labeled "access vs. isolation," in which I include communication and technology. I need not belabor the technological advances which have brought us closer to Norman Cousin's one-world concept. These developments are well known to all of you. Perhaps less well known is the extent of the isolation of the rural schools in the 1950's. Long ago, I gave up trying to explain Alaska to friends and relatives residing in other states. Just as I could not convey to them the fact that on St. Lawrence Island we received mail once a month if we were lucky (exclusive of freeze-up and spring breakup when no mail of any sort arrived), I cannot now convince people that CARE packages need not be sent to

Fairbanks. But it is conservative to say that in 1951, fewer than 5% of the population of Savoonga had ever been off St. Lawrence Island in their entire lives. In contrast (and with no statistical data to support my claim), I know from phone calls of islanders traveling to other places through Fairbanks that St. Lawrence Island now has an extremely mobile population, and I suspect it is a small minority of islanders who have not at least been to Nome. During the three years my wife and I taught at Savoonga, we had one supervisory visit from the late Laura F. Jones, and this during an October stop of the government freighter, North Star, at which time school was closed because everyone was working with the unloading of supplies and equipment. Our communication link with the outside world was a bush radio which was only effective during proper atmospheric conditions. We had a nightly radio schedule (conditions permitting) with the Public Health Service doctor in Kotzebue (Dr. Irwin Rabeau, who by the way is back in Alaska after many years in Washington, D.C.), at which time we described the symptoms of our medical patients (oh yes, teachers served as doctors in many communities) and received direction from Dr. Rabeau as to appropriate treatment. Typical treatment for serious illnesses was a hypodermic injection of penicillin. Fortunately, this is a skill I developed which I have not had to use for the past twenty-eight years.

I contrast those days of irregular radio contact with stations in Nome and Kotzebue (and with other teachers in the bush radio network) with the sophistication of today's technology. Television is pervasive. Whether or not flooding rural communities with reruns of Gilligan's Island constitutes progress is a judgment I shall leave to future historians. But such advances as the electronic mail service interconnecting fifty-two school districts and other educational agencies, micro-computer networks Plato Learning Centers, and computer-assisted instruction have clearly impacted the educational landscape. When one talks about an apple for the teacher today, we are talking about hardware a not fruit.

Courses are widely available through Individualized Study by Technology (IST), although the full impact of technology upon education is in the future. There are few who fail to realize that as television was not a passing fad, so other types of technology are here to stay and will influence education more than can now be imagined.

A third major area of change can be found in the decentralization of educational services. It is apparent that these changes being described do not occur in isolation one from another, and considerable overlapping can be found. For example, technology and improved communication facilitates decentralization of educational services to an extent not previously possible. However, centralized learning centers would clearly have changed with or without the concurrent technological advances.

When I joined the University of Alaska faculty in 1957, the options for students were few. Essentially, if you wanted a four-year college education and chose to remain in Alaska, you came to Fairbanks.

Today, external degree programs have proliferated through the doctoral level and reach every segment of our population. The University of Alaska now comprises three relatively autonomous campuses with their own separate accreditation, ten community colleges, twelve rural education centers, a Cooperative Extension Service, and research facilities located throughout the state.[4] In the fall of 1980, over forty thousand persons, approximately ten percent of the state's total population, enrolled in one or more classes offered by the University of Alaska.[5]

A similar phenomenon has occurred at the high school level in terms of educational decentralization. In the 1950's, if you lived in a rural community served by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and wanted a high school education, you went to Mt. Edgecumbe or were sent to a boarding school in the "Lower 48." Today, high schools are common in small communities, with the principal impetus for decentralization of educational services coming from legal actions initiated by rural citizens. Molly Hootch et al. contended that depriving high-school-aged students the right to attend high school without leaving home violated Alaska's Constitution and state statutes.[6] While Molly Hootch lost her case, the issues presented in the case remained and resulted in a subsequent out-of-court settlement entitled Tobeluk vs. Lind, signed in 1976,[7] which led to the establishment of 126 new high schools ranging in size from one-teacher high schools to those of more traditional size.

While the impact of small high schools is greater than ever before, I would be derelict, from an historical point of view, not to mention that one- and two-teacher high schools are not new to Alaska. In its 1949 administrative manual, the old Territorial Department of Education outlined in great detail a method whereby one teacher might instruct all high school offerings. By combining ninth-grade pupils with tenth, and eleventh graders with twelfth, the teacher could instruct eight different subjects a year and would alternate courses for odd and even years. Following this plan, it was possible for one teacher to teach all sixteen units then required for high school graduation.[8] However, while such a plan was possible, few such high schools existed, and an extremely small number of Alaskan pupils actually gained their high school education through this means.

But back to the present. It is not my purpose to editorialize about whether or not these dramatic changes in educational decentralization were made wisely. I shall only engage in page one reporting and not page two editorializing at this juncture. However, in a slight contradiction of the foregoing statement and in approaching the editorial stance, I am fearful that we may discover, in our laudable efforts to deliver educational services to every eligible individual wherever he or she may reside, that quality may not have been maintained in all instances. And I do strongly suggest that we are doing no one any favors in providing a certificate, or a degree, or a diploma without the concommitant education such a piece of paper symbolizes. I do not suggest that learning can only occur on a campus or that pupils must be lined up in rows in classes numbering approximately thirty for education to take place. But I hope we are not unduly driven by political forces and factors of expediency in making the decisions of what educational services can be delivered to which location and for how many students in a cost-effective manner without sacrificing quality. Standards of quality for education must be established and maintained, in all school settings.

Again, I will defer to historians of the future the determination of whether the enormous changes effected in the decentralization of the delivery of educational services were in the best interests of the students involved.

My fourth (and last) broad category of consideration might be labeled "leadership, authority, and control of education." And in this area, it is conservative to state categorically that last is not least. For in the area of leadership and control, enormous changes have taken place.

Looking first at rural Alaska, in the 1950's no serious attempts were made on a systematic basis to obtain educational direction from local individuals or groups. Certainly, one was expected to work congenially with rural community members. And teachers and administrators did get transferred if they created such a ruckus that the community residents arose in revolt, not an uncommon occurrence, by the way. Undoubtedly, a major cause of community disruption resulted from rural teachers whose motivations for coming to remote villages were born of missionary zeal rather than of interest in teaching school. I recall a recruiting technique described, only slightly facetiously, by my former supervisor, Max Penrod, of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He commented that in interviewing applicants for teaching and administrative positions, he started off with a few cuss words to get their reactions, then offered them a cigarette, followed by an invitation to join him for a drink. If they blushed when he swore, refused both the alcohol and tobacco, he proceeded cautiously. Not an especially sophisticated or accurate screening device, but one born of bitter experience from having sent too many teachers to isolated spots who were there for the wrong reasons.

But the concept of drawing educational direction from local leaders in rural Alaska was not a topic for serious discussion in the fifties. What caused the shift in authority for educational decision-making? Obviously myriad factors, not all unique to Alaska.

The nationwide movement toward self-determination by minority groups encompassed this state, as well as other parts of the country. But in Alaska, an extremely interesting evolution in rural leadership took place, an evolution which deserves more detailed treatment than I can provide in a short period of time. Essentially, three phases of changing leadership can be identified. Initially, well-meaning individuals, almost all white, provided direction for rural affairs -- including education. It is safe to say that, with few exceptions, these individuals made decisions which they perceived to be in the best interests of the population to be served. However, coming as they did from a Western culture, these leaders imposed a value system that was foreign to and often in conflict with the value system of the community impacted.

Second (and while precise years cannot be put on these periods, we are probably talking about the latter part of the 1960's and early 1970's), a different type of leadership can be identified as spokespersons for rural Alaska. Individuals who assumed a dominant role were often of Native extraction but were products of Western education and Western culture. For example, these individuals typically had left the village at an early age (if indeed they had ever lived in a village), received their schooling in larger communities or out-of-state boarding schools, may have served in the armed forces, and in other ways had been immersed in the dominant Western culture. You can undoubtedly fit specific names into this category of leaders as well as I can. Yet, while these leaders may have had limited intensive contact with rural Alaska, they were identified and recognized by villagers as spokespersons because (1) they shared a common racial and cultural base, and (2) they were sufficiently sophisticated in Western ways to be effective in articulating rural concerns and in getting results.

The third, and current, stage in the evolution of local leadership reflects the emergence of leaders with a truly rural background. These are the persons who serve on Native Corporation Boards, who are on local policy-making school boards, and who are increasingly prominent in state and national affairs. And while the level of sophistication, as measured by Western standards, may be below that represented by the secondary category of rural leaders, the understanding of village problems and the reflection of local concerns is more accurately represented than at any other time in our history. As with all generalizations, exceptions to these categories abound, but I have little doubt that a major shift in rural power has indeed occurred during the past thirty years and that this change can be documented.

Another obvious element in the changing locus of the educational power structure stems from legal mandate, which often reflects societal demands. The dissolution of the Alaska State-Operated School System in 1976 and the creation of Rural Education Attendance Areas, through Senate Bill 35, established instant policy boards with the authority to enact school policies at the local level, whereas prior to 1976 rural schools had at best been guided by advisory boards with little or no real authority. The decentralization of rural school authority has been dealt with in a number of excellent studies which are readily available, so I will not dwell on this issue, other than to say that the law legitimized a movement that was underway and certainly facilitated and strengthened the concept of local control of schools in a rapid and dramatic manner.

Another force which resulted in the diminution of power wielded by school administrators, state officials and educational agencies was the collective bargaining movement. Collective bargaining forced a sharing of authority -- primarily in the area of working conditions for teachers -- among administrators, school boards, and teacher-representatives. It is not human nature to give up power willingly. And superintendents who, contrary to popular opinion, are human beings, felt betrayed when teachers demanded a piece of the action -- suggesting that these demands indicated a lack of confidence in the administrator's abilities, or in a more patronizing vein, a lack of gratitude for the efforts the superintendnet had expended on behalf of "his teachers." But certainly the die was cast, and few people in Alaska question the fact that teachers are now legitimate partners in the educational power structure.

The political muscle of the teachers' association, once called the Alaska Education Association and now NEA-Alaska, has grown to the point that few major educational issues are resolved without reflecting the influence of this organization. Prior to 1950, this professional organization was headed by school superintendents. But in 1950, a significant shift in power occurred when Marjorie Tillotson, a classroom teacher from Juneau, became the first person who was not a school administrator to be elected president of the state educational association.[9] It goes without saying that the divorce of the teachers' association from administrator domination has been complete, and no prospects for a re-marriage exists.

The last point I will make, which pertains to authority and control of education in Alaska, concerns the increased qualifications of those in educational leadership positions in the state. I know I am being accurate in stating that in 1951 one could count the number of persons in the Territory of Alaska who held a doctor's degree in the field of education on the fingers of one hand and have digits to spare. And while I do not hold up this degree as prima facie evidence of leadership, I do submit that it represents a level of preparation that correlates to some extent with expertise.

In the 1950's, men such as Don Dafoe, James Ryan, and William Keller stood apart from the crowd not only because of their abilities, but also because of their levels of educational preparation. Consequently, they commanded an inordinate amount of authority and influence. Today, qualified leadership is broader based, and one would be hard pressed to single out two or three individuals in Alaska who speak for the profession. As a result, the power and authority is more diffuse, and less influence resides with any one person.

In conclusion, let me state the obvious, The past thirty-one years have witnessed enormous changes in Alaskan education. Yet, at times, I feel like the person who said, "Just because everything's different, it doesn't mean anything has changed." Seriously, we have made enormous progress, many changes have occurred, and cause for optimism abounds.

Yet, some of the same old problems persist. For example, in 1982 we still retain the dual system of public education created by the Nelson Act of 1905. While the latest date provided for the termination of the federal school system for Native students is 1984, and while the Reagan administration is currently forcing the transfer of a number of BIA schools to state administration, the merging of these two school systems is still a future event.

Another persistent problem is that Alaskan-generated research data upon which to base educational decisions is sparse. We often make important educational decisions on the basis of information about schools in the other states which may or may not reflect local conditions. And many decisions are based on no evidence at all, except perhaps the experience of the individual calling the shots.

A major continuing problem involves the rate of teacher turnover in Alaskan rural schools -- a persistent dilemma.

And we are faced with a series of important questions which must be answered if our potential as a vital, growing state, blessed with abundant resources, is to be realized:

(1) Has the impressive rise in financial support provided to the public schools in Alaska resulted in an equal rise in educational quality and services for Alaska's youth? If not, why not?

(2) Has increased local autonomy resulted in wiser educational decision making?

(3) Have outreach programs, which make educational services

accessible to more citizens than ever before, maintained academic and program integrity?

(4) Is Alaska's educational leadership prepared to provide creative solutions to the complex problems we now face and will continue to face in the decades ahead?

By posing these questions, I am not suggesting negative responses. Rather, I do suggest that the answers to these questions are of sufficient importance to warrant objective, systematic inquiry if we are to take full advantage of the exciting opportunities which have been afforded us and which lie ahead.

Alaska's citizens have traditionally placed a very high priority on education. As long ago as territorial days, approximately one-half or more of the territorial budget went for education. Such commitment remains today. Alaskans will continue to demand the best possible educational programs for the young people of our state within the scope of the resources available.

But many of the questions I have raised tonight must be discussed in the public arena and decisions must be reached which will ensure a bright future for today's youth.

NOTES -- Ray

1. William R. Marsh, North to the Future (Juneau: Alaska Department of Education, 1967), pp. 57-59.

2. Estimates of School Statistics, 1981-82 (NEA Research Memo, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1982), p. 8.

3. Compiled School Laws of Alaska (Juneau: Alaska Department of Education, September, 1980), Sec. 14.17.081 (p. 31).

4. President's Report, 1980-81 (University of Alaska, 1981), p. 3.

5. Ibid., p. 4.

6. Hootch v. Alaska State-Operated School System, No. 72-2450, Alaska Superior Court, Third Judicial District, filed August 16, 1972.

7. Agreement of Settlement, dated September 13, 1976, Tobeluk v. Lind, No. 72-2450, Alaska Superior Court, Third Judicial District.

8. Territory of Alaska, Administrative Manual (Juneau: Department of Education, 1949), p. 11.

9. Marsh, North to the Future, p. 27.

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